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WAR & LENINISM

Tenth Anniversary of the Imperialist War.

THE attitude towards war constitutes one of the most important aspects of the doctrine known as Leninism. In regard to the principles involved in the attitude towards war, the concrete judgment about every war in particular, the view on the relation between wars and revolutions, the distinction between aggressive and defensive wars, the classification of wars according to different historical types, the view on national defence, the attitude towards pacifism, the attitude towards the defeat of one's "own" country in the imperialist war—in all these problems Leninism said its word. In the handling of these problems, Leninism reached its highest point of perfection.

Immediately after the convening of the Zimmerwald Conference, approximately towards the first anniversary of the imperialist war, a pamphlet was published by Lenin and Zinoviev on "Socialism and War." This pamphlet, inspired entirely by Lenin and mainly written by him, describes the attitude of Leninism towards war with the utmost terseness and lucidity, in the following manner.

Socialists' Attitude Towards War.

The Socialists always condemn wars between nations as barbarous and brutal. But our attitude towards war is different in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists and anarchists. We differ from the former because we understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle within the country, we understand the impossibility of abolishing war without abolishing classes and without establishing the Socialist system, and also because we fully conceive the legitimacy, progress and necessity of civil wars, *i.e.*, of wars by the oppressed class against the oppressors, by slaves against slaveowners, by serfs against their masters, and by wage labourers against the bourgeoisie. We differ from the pacifists and anarchists because we are Marxians and we recognise the need for a historical study (from the

standpoint of the dialectical materialism of Marx) of every war in particular. In history there have frequently been wars which, in spite of all the horrors, brutalities, calamities and suffering inevitable in every war, were progressive wars, *i.e.*, were useful to the development of mankind, by assisting in the demolition of particularly harmful and reactionary institutions (*e.g.*, autocracy or serfdom) of the most barbarous despots in Europe (Turkey and Russia). From this standpoint we should consider the historical features of the present imperialist war. (The pamphlet was written in 1915.)

Historical Types of Wars in Modern Times.

"The modern epoch in human history was opened by the great French Revolution. Since that time, until the Commune of Paris, from 1789 to 1871, one of the types of wars were the bourgeois-progressive, was of national-liberation. In other words, the principal feature and the historical meaning of these wars was the overthrow of absolutism and feudalism; undermining and overthrowing foreign oppression. For this reason in such wars, when they occurred, all honest revolutionary democrats, including all Socialists, invariably wished the success of that side (*i.e.*, of that bourgeoisie) which was assisting in overthrowing or undermining the most dangerous shackles of feudalism, absolutism and the oppression of other nations. For instance, in the revolutionary wars of France, there was an element of pillage and annexation of foreign countries by the French, but this in no way changed the fundamental historical importance of these wars, which shook and demolished feudalism and absolutism of old, serf-bound Europe. In the Franco-Prussian war, Germany robbed France, but this did not change the fundamental historical importance of this war, which emancipated scores of millions of the German race from their feudal dismemberment and oppression by the two despots, the Russian Czar and Napoleon III."

Difference between Aggressive and Defensive Wars.

"The epoch of 1789-1871 left deep traces and revolutionary landmarks behind it. Prior to the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism and alien yokes, there could be no talk of the development of the proletarian fight for Socialism. Speaking of the legitimacy of 'defensive' war in regard to the wars of *such* an epoch, the Socialists had always in mind these very aims, which spelled the revolution against

mediævalism and serfdom. By 'defensive' war the Socialists always understood a 'just' war in this sense (this was the very expression used by W. Liebknecht). It was only in this sense that the Socialists understood, as they do now, the legitimacy, progressiveness and justice of 'national defence' or 'defensive' war. For instance, if to-morrow Morocco declared war on France, India on England, China or Persia on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just' and 'defensive' wars, *regardless* as to who was the first aggressor, and every Socialist would wish for a victory of the oppressed and dependent states against their oppressors, the slave-driving and predatory 'great' powers."

But imagine that a slaveowner, having 100 slaves, fights against a slaveowner who has 200 slaves, for a more "equitable" distribution of the slaves. It stands to reason that in such a case the application of the terms "defensive war" or "national defence" would be a historical falsification and common deception of the ignorant elements of the bourgeoisie and of the common people on the part of the astute slaveowners. It is in this manner that the nations are now hoodwinked by the modern imperialist bourgeoisie, who use the terms of "national" ideology and of national defence for the present war between slave-drivers for the strengthening and fastening of the chains of slavery.

The Present War is an Imperialist War.

Nearly everybody recognises the present war (this was written in 1915) as an imperialist war, but this conception is mostly being distorted, or adopted in a one-sided manner, or the suggesting is smuggled in, that this might still be a bourgeois-progressive war of national-liberation. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, reached in the twentieth century. Capitalism began to feel crowded in the old national states, without whose formation it could not have overthrown feudalism. Capitalism has become so concentrated that entire branches of industry are captured by syndicates, trusts and billionaire corporations, and nearly the whole surface of the earth has been divided between these "kings of capital," either in the shape of colonies or by way of enmeshing other countries in a thousand threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition were substituted by monopolist aspirations, by the ambition to capture new lands for the investment of capital, for the export of raw materials and so on. From a liberator of nations, which capitalism was in the fight against feudal-

ism, imperialist capitalism has become the greatest oppressor of nations. Capitalism has become reactionary instead of progressive, it has developed the productive forces to the extent that the human race will have either to embrace Socialism or to be doomed to long years of armed fighting by the "great" powers for the artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and national oppression of every kind.

With the same classical lucidity, Leninism gave the answer to the question: what is Social-Chauvinism.

What is Social-Chauvinism?

Social-Chauvinism is the advocacy of the idea of "national defence" in the present war. The logic of this idea is the rejection of the class struggle during the war, the voting of war credits, and so on. As a matter of fact, the Social-Chauvinists are carrying on anti-proletarian, bourgeois politics, because they are in fact advocating not "national defence" in the sense of fighting against alien yoke, but in the sense of the "right" of one or another set of the "great" powers to rob the colonies and to oppress foreign nations. The Social-Chauvinists repeat the bourgeois deception of the people, alleging that this is a war for the defence of liberty and existence of the nations, thus joining the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. To the Social-Chauvinist belong also those who justify and belaud the government and the bourgeoisie of *one* of the belligerent groups of powers, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognise the equal right of Socialists in all the warring countries "to defend the fatherland." Social-Chauvinism, being in fact the defender of the privileges, prerogatives, depredations and violence of "its own" (or of any) imperialist bourgeoisie, constitutes the total betrayal of all the Socialist convictions and decisions of the international Socialist congress of Basle."

And Leninism draws the following conclusion: Social-Chauvinism is the acme of opportunism. By identifying itself with opportunism it called for a union of the workers with "their" national bourgeoisie, and a split of the international working class.

Leninism was much taken to task for its "defeatism." Even some of the internationalists, on reaching this point, would turn their backs on Bolshevism and their faces to

Social-Chauvinism. Nevertheless, Leninism, remaining true unto itself, said :

"The revolutionary class, during a reactionary war, cannot but wish the defeat of its government, cannot but see the connection between its military defeats and the facilities of overthrowing it. Only the bourgeois who thinks that the war that was started by the governments will doubtlessly be ended as a war between governments, and wishes it to be so, finds the idea 'preposterous' or 'absurd' that the Socialists of *all* the warring countries should wish for the defeat of *all* 'their' respective governments. On the contrary, just such an attitude would correspond to the innermost thoughts of every class conscious worker, and would coincide with the line of our activity which is directed towards the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. . . The Socialists must explain to the masses that there is no salvation for them outside of the overthrow of 'their' governments, and that they should take advantage for this purpose of the very difficulties of these governments in the present war."

Transformation of Imperialist War into Civil War.

Such was the fundamental slogan of Leninism in the period of the first world-wide imperialist war. This slogan would be advocated consistently and to the end only by standing with both feet on the ground of so-called defeatism.

Leninism, while hating the imperialist war with its whole heart, saw at the same time that this war was putting rifles into the hands of millions and millions of toilers. While ridiculing maudlin pacifism, Lenin appealed to the people to take advantage of the fact that the arms were placed in the hands of the toilers, urging to turn these arms against the bourgeoisie and to proclaim the revolution.

At the very height of the imperialist war, Leninism at the same time emphasised that the Communists do not denounce national defence when country had become a Socialist, proletarian country. In his theses of 1915, *i.e.*, two years before the passing of power into the hands of the Bolsheviks, at a moment when Bolshevism was still a persecuted political movement, and no one believed that the Bolsheviks would soon be in power, Leninism presented to the world an example of *dialectical* reasoning on the question of national defence. National defence for the capitalists--

No! National defence for the workers who overthrow capitalism and took power into their own hands—Yes!

This dialectical reasoning was endowed with flesh and blood after the October of 1917, when under the banner of Leninism was born the Red Army, which defended and is defending the world's first Socialist state.

Leninism does not tolerate revolutionary phrase-mongering. It particularly detests this kind of phraseology in the question of war. No one was more merciless in ridiculing and withering the anti-militarist phraseology of the anarcho-syndicalist spouters and the high-falutin' promises of the Social-Democratic leaders as to arranging a general strike against war, and so on. The instructions to the Russian delegation to the Hague International Conference against war which Lenin wrote and which were recently published, give us a sample of the sober reasoning of the great revolutionary on the question of fighting against war.

“ You want to fight against war, then you must learn to organise illegal revolutionary nuclei in the army in times of peace. Learn in times of peace to set up such organisations, let us say, among the railwaymen as will really be able at the very outbreak of war to hit the capitalists in the most vulnerable spot. You want to fight against war, fight then against the bourgeoisie in times of peace, refuse to vote military credits, do not enter into alliances with the bourgeoisie, build brick by brick your own independent revolutionary proletarian party. And should war break out after all, then teach the soldiers to fraternise in the trenches, conclude a 'class truce' with the bourgeoisie, carry on revolutionary agitation, and at the decisive moment hoist the banner of rebellion against war and against the bourgeoisie.”

Hence the ardent, implacable revolutionary hatred which Leninism bore for the counter-revolutionary leaders of Social-Democracy, who aided the bourgeoisie in waging the imperialist war. Scheidemann, Vandervelde, Renaudel, Thomas, Henderson, Austerlitz, and the rest of them, from the standpoint of Leninism, are not less guilty of the imperialist butchery than Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Foch, Poincaré and their ilk.

Ten years ago, the leaders of the Second International came out as the open drivers of the workers into the battle-

fields of the world butchery. The leaders of the Second International were, and are, therefore, the executioners of the working class.

We shall shortly celebrate the first anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist war. The leaders of the Second International continue to carry on the same murderous policy of the imperialist war, only with different means. When the French Socialists, who played the part of lackeys of Herriot the "pacifist," vote military credits for the Ruhr occupation, when the head of the Second International, MacDonald, builds new dreadnoughts and gives his benediction to the wholesale shooting of Hindoos, when the whole Second International, by praising the notorious Experts' Plan, are again carrying out the grand deception of the people, what does it all mean if not the continuation of the perfidious and bloody Social-Democratic policy of 1914, in a different form and under different circumstances?

In order to conquer the bourgeoisie, the international proletariat must step over the dead political body of the counter-revolutionary leaders of social-democracy.

Get the bourgeoisie by the throat! At the same time, put your feet on the breast of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy! We, Communists, should say this frankly and unmistakably to the advanced workers throughout the world.

G. ZINOVIEV.

Moscow, July 7th, 1924.



Ten Years Ago and After

A DECADE has now gone since the imperialists let loose the first world war upon the unready millions. Not a single statesman is left at the helm of state affairs in any of the countries involved in the great catastrophe, who had anything to do with the making or conduct of the war. Capitalist civilisation has been shaken to its foundations. The nightmare horrors and sufferings of millions of people have destroyed their belief in its durability. The intoxicated passions that were aroused by the statesmen, leaders and lackeys of imperialism, have given place to a profound scepticism which challenges their veracity and demands of the criminals a statement of the degree of their complicity.

Sensing the disillusionment that was coming into the minds of the masses through the misery of the war and the unfulfilled promises, one after another have stepped forward with their war memoirs, their personal explanations, their histories. And, the more they speak and explain, the vaster becomes the tragedy, and the deeper and more criminal is seen to be the hypocrisy which dominated the days of August, 1914, when the millions of workers were mobilised to spill their blood upon the plains of Europe. "Imagine" cries the British General, Sir Ian Hamilton, at Crewe, on January 14th, 1924, "Imagine if the British Cabinet of July-August, 1914, vacillating as we know they were, had been vouchsafed a prophetic vision of us here, upon the plinth of Crewe's memorial, inscribed with so many names you can hardly stick a pin between them—what would they have done then? Would John Burns and John Morley have been the only two to shrink back from the suicide of a generation?" When generals of an imperial army speak in this spirit of revolt and talk of the *suicide of a generation* in public places, the depth of the change of feeling in the minds of the millions who feel they have been betrayed, is vast and deep.

But there are those who have no regrets. The general's doubts and fears as to the British Cabinet are unfounded. The same people pursue the same course ten years later, with the same unctuous righteousness as in the days of July and August, 1914. And what a galaxy they are! Grey, Asquith, Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Chamberlain, and Co.

On August the 3rd, 1914, Grey stepped into the British House of Commons and told a tremendous lie behind a technical truth. He stated that the question of war depended on two things—naval attack on the coast of France, and the invasion of Belgium. He told the House it was free to decide, and he knew it was not free. He had waited with his colleagues until their policy had culminated in a situation from which there was no escape, which narrowed the choice and determined its character in such a way that his listeners were made mobile in his hands. His decision would be their decision. He knew that. He and they knew that the raising of the curtain in the House of Commons on August the 3rd, was only a side show, a peep into the great drama of Imperial conflict waged with unceasing vigilance for thirty years. Here was no accidental situation. Here was a pre-destined hour to which they knew they were driving.

On August 2nd, 1914, Bonar Law wrote to Asquith as follows, on behalf of Chamberlain and the Unionist leaders :

“Lord Lansdowne and I feel it our duty to inform you that in our opinion, as well as that of all the colleagues whom we have been able to consult, it would be fatal to the honour and security of the United Kingdom to hesitate in supporting France and Russia at the present juncture, and we offer our unhesitating support to the Government in any means they may consider necessary for that object.

Yours very truly,

A. BONAR LAW.”

There is no question here as to naval attacks on France or the invasion of Belgium.

On August 5th, Asquith said : “If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfil a solemn international obligation—an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons

would have been regarded as an obligation, not only of law, but of honour, which no self respecting man could have repudiated. Secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power. I do not believe any great nation ever entered into a great controversy with a clearer conscience and a stronger conviction that it is fighting not for aggression nor for the maintenance of its own selfish interest, but in defence of principles vital to the civilisation of the world." (Cambridge History, Foreign Policy, p. 506.)

Splendid! Splendid! Until we know the fate of the German colonies in Africa and the fate of Mesopotamia, etc.

But let Mr. Lloyd George have his say on the platform of "honourable gentlemen." "But this I know is true—after the guarantee given that the German Fleet would not attack the coast of France, or annex any French territory, I would not have been party to a declaration of war, had not Belgium been invaded; and I think I can say the same thing for most, if not all, my colleagues." (Mr. Lloyd George and the War, p. 92.)

Mr. Lloyd George would do better for himself if he spoke less frequently. As it is, what he says one day he can guarantee to contradict the next. On August 7th, 1918, he had totally forgotten his first story as to the cause of the war and stated in the House of Commons:

"We had a compact with France, that, if she were wantonly attacked, the United Kingdom would go to her support."

Mr. Hogge: "We did not know that."

Mr. Lloyd George: "If France were wantonly attacked."

An Hon. Member: "That is news."

Mr. Lloyd George: "There was no compact as to what force we should bring into the arena. In any discussion that ever took place, either in this country or outside, there was no idea that we should ever be able to supply a greater force than six divisions. . . ." (Hansard.)

Later he touched this up a little and adopted Asquith's "obligation of honour."

In 1923, Mr. Asquith published a book on "The Genesis of the War," in which it is perfectly clear that Germany and Britain had been watching each other's every move for generations. Read Asquith's chapter on pre-war preparations, and Grey's "You are free to decide"—sounds like the voice of mockery from the depths of hell. After describing the work of a sub-committee under Lord Morley, inquiring into the military requirements of the British Empire as affected by India, in 1907, and the work of another committee appointed at the instance of Lord Roberts as to the possibilities of sudden invasion, he says:

"Then followed another inquiry, over which I presided, into the military requirements of the Empire as affected by the Continent of Europe. As the result of this the General Staff were allowed to work out their plans on the assumption that an expeditionary force might have to be sent to the Continent. Meanwhile, inquiries had taken place, under Lord Morley, into the military needs of the Empire as affected by Egypt, and into our position in Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf with special regard to the Bagdad Railway.

"All the above inquiries were finished by August, 1909. It would not be an unjust claim to say that the Government had by that date investigated the whole of the ground covered by a possible war with Germany—the naval position; the possibilities of blockade; the invasion problem; the Continental problem; the Egyptian problem.

"After August, 1909, we entered upon a new stage in the task of preparation treatment of neutral and enemy merchant ships . . . seizure of enemy ships in port control of railways question of supplies Meanwhile, all sorts of complementary and subsidiary investigations had taken place. A counter-espionage bureau had been set up in the War Office. The questions of Press censorship, postal censorship, and the treatment of aliens, started in 1909, dragged on in seemingly interminable discussions which were completed between 1912 and 1914. The protection of our own cables and the attack on enemy cables was thoroughly examined, as were aerial navigation and its laws; the defence of the Suez Canal and of Hong Kong; the strategic position in the Pacific and the Mediterranean"

And the war came upon us like a thief in the night?
And the " Nation was free to decide "?

But lies are their stock-in-trade. Unable to speak the truth as to why they led the masses of the nation to war, it is not to be expected that they would speak the truth as to their aims in the war. The slogan sounded throughout the length and breadth of the land—" freedom and self-determination for small nationalities " (except those under the British flag). And while the orators thundered and howled this slogan, demanding single men first and then scaling the age limits—the Greys and Asquiths, Georges and Co., were busy with the *secret war aims*.

Had it not been for the proletarian revolution in Russia in November, 1917, these treaties would not have seen the light of day. And what Treaties they were! Treaties for cutting and carving a continent. Treaties on raising loans and controlling the Churches from intervening on the side of peace. Treaties to divide Europe and share the spoils of war. Coalfields and ironfields, ships and equipment, railways and machinery, money and again money while the millions spilled their blood for ideals. The mob could dream its dreams and chant its songs and think it was doing wonders in the service of idealism, but the treaty-mongers were busy laying deep their plans to plunge their talons into the material fabric of Europe and Africa.

When all these plans were disclosed by the revolution, there was a great silence. Not one of these "honourable gentlemen" had a word to say, but quietly they prepared a greater lie. They prepared a campaign to prove that these disclosures must be wrong. Not by direct denial, but with new broadsides of democratic phrases calculated to stimulate illusions and make the people forget. A new ally was secured—Wilson—the "peacemaker" hovered over Europe. A charter of Fourteen Points was announced as the embodiment of the aims of the war and peace.

Again the voices were false and the charter lied. It was only for public consumption along with the dreams of a new social order the war was to bring. It was as real as the "Homes for heroes," the great "reconstruction plans" and the "work for all" schemes. The imperialists had not departed one jot from their real predatory aims. The fighting stopped. The Allies had won their military victory. The terms of settlement came and the Versailles Treaty

made public for all to see that the Secret Treaties spoke the truth as to the real aims of Grey and Asquith and George, and all the gang who declared that the issue of the war was Belgium.

Everyone of them are unashamedly associated with this Treaty of Plunder, demonstrating that the war was the continuation of their imperial politics by military means and that the peace is the continuance of the war in the domain of politics and economics.

They called to the workers—"civilisation is at stake." "Your homes are in danger." "Belgium must be freed." Follow us and we will lead you to the country of your dreams. Every promise has proved a fraud. Every idealistic utterance an empty noise, meaning nothing. A million of the working class of Britain were killed. Millions carry on their bodies the scars of war. The wheels of social life grind more harshly than ever before. Unemployment and misery walk abroad by night and by day . . . "For the liberation of small nations."

Ten years have gone since the "right" wing of the bourgeoisie swept forward on the tide of imperialism into the first world war. History does not stop. The "left" wing of the bourgeoisie in the form of a Labour Government holds the reins of Empire. Under the banner of Liberalism the deeds of the imperialists made war inevitable in 1914. In 1924 the same imperialists are bespattering the banner of Labour and using the leaders of labour to perpetuate deeds which lead inevitably to the next world war.

The Treaty of Versailles and its corollary, the Dawes' Report, accepted by the Labour Government of Britain are not the instruments of peace, but of war. A terrible perspective. But those who refuse to do battle against capitalists are the tools of capitalism.

J. T. MURPHY.

Economic Causes & Consequences of the World War

IN considering the world war, one often falls into the error of regarding it as an isolated and chance event, which might have been avoided by a better policy. The truth, however, is that war is inevitable under capitalism, and that a whole series of wars had preceded the world war. One can assert that during the whole of the half-century that preceded the world war, war was being waged on some part of the globe.

In their economic aspect these wars were mostly wars against unarmed peoples and served the object of bringing ever larger and larger parts of the world under the rule of the imperialist world powers. Thus, this long series of colonial wars served for the development of the imperialistic form of capitalism. The world war, in its economic aspect, was of an essentially different character. It was not concerned with the subjection of new territories to the imperialistic regime, but was a struggle among the imperialists themselves, for the re-division of the exploited colonies and semi-colonial territories. In order to understand this we will briefly sketch the structure of capitalism as it was before the world war.

The economic features of capitalism in the quarter of a century which preceded the world war, was the enormous increase in production in capitalist countries. In illustration of this fact we will give only a few instances. The production of coal and iron, which is of especial importance for modern capitalists, developed in the following manner.

Year	United States		England		Germany		France	
	Coal	Pig iron	Coal	Pig iron	Coal	Pig iron	Coal	Pig iron
1890	111.13	9.2	181.6	7.9	89.2	4.6	26.0	1.9
1913	478.4	30.9	287.6	10.2	190.0	19.2	40.8	5.2

All per mill. tons

(From Brelet's "Crisis in the Metal Industries," page 25.)

Even more strongly does the development of machinery show the rise of capitalism. The total horse power and machinery of the world has been estimated :—

1896	...	...	...	66 million horse power
1911	...	...	...	200 ,, ,, ,,

In a quarter of a century the machine power of the world was multiplied by three. It is estimated that of 200 million, 100 was used on the railways, 25 in water transport, and the remaining 75 million in industry.

The development of capitalism did not proceed at an equal rate throughout the world. Particular centres of capitalist development occurred. The main centre was in Western Europe, and was formed by Germany, France and England. Besides these, there were the other great capitalist powers of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and outside Europe, the United States of America and Japan.

The distinguishing feature of the Western European centre of capitalism was that, for the maintenance of its economy it imported large quantities of food and raw materials, and in order to pay for these, exported industrial commodities. These countries developed simultaneously, to a greater and greater degree, into exporters of capital. An ever-growing portion of accumulated capital was invested, not within these countries, but abroad in order to obtain the higher rates of profit from undeveloped countries, and thereby to counteract the tendency to falling rate of profit.*

At the same time production became highly concentrated and the means of production centralised. The control of industry of the imperialist countries, and thereby of the whole world passed into the hands of a continually diminishing number of great capitalists. The combination of capitalist undertakings into cartels, trusts and combines, made it possible for a quite small group of capitalist leaders in co-operation with the great banks to control the whole

* English capital invested abroad was estimated by Sartorius of Waltershausen, in 1914 at 32 milliard pound sterling; Paris estimates the profits in 1906-7 at 140 millions; foreign investments of France in 1900 was officially estimated at 30, and by Sartorius in 1906 at 40 milliard francs, by Arend in 1914, at 16 milliard francs, and the profits derived is estimated by Sartorius at 1.8 milliards annually. German capital invested abroad was estimated by Sartorius in 1916 at 26 milliard marks, and the profit at 1.24 milliards. If one adds the foreign investments of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries, a sum of 150-200 milliard gold marks is obtained.

economic system of the country. Together with economic power they gained also political power, if not formally, certainly in fact. The great capitalists ruled the State, and guided its policy according to their own profit-making interests.

The expansion of capitalism, the exploitation of the colonies and semi-colonies, made it possible for the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries to insure the workers of their countries rising standard of living. This fact made it possible for important sections of the working class in the imperialist countries to separate themselves from the general proletariat, and to become an aristocracy of labour. This provided the basis for revisionism, and obtained the endorsement of capitalist colonial policy by the Social-Democrats. It provided also the economic basis for social patriotism, and the co-operation of the industrial proletariat with their own bourgeois classes in the war.

The combination of the bourgeoisie into monopolistic organisations and their domination of the State machine, made it possible for them to monopolise the internal markets of each country. High tariffs shut out foreign competition and made it possible to throw the surplus of home production over the requirements of internal markets on to the world market, at much lower prices than home prices, and in many cases at below cost of production itself. The movement toward monopolistic control then passed to the outside territories and formed the basis of colonial policy. In particular, this took three separate but closely connected forms : (1) monopolistic exploitation of raw materials and national wealth of the colonies. It should be noted here, that in the rising period of capitalism, in the period of boom, there was an almost permanent shortage of the most important raw materials, and the bourgeoisie of each imperialist state had a keen interest in ensuring its own supplies of raw materials and controlling these by monopoly. (2) Monopolistically-controlled export markets for industrial products and (3) new monopolistic opportunities for investments of capital. With the development of capitalism, the latter became more and more important, and was closely related to the second point, since the new investment of capital abroad was naturally mainly carried out by the export of means of production to the less developed countries. This phase of highly developed capitalism, which is characterised by the pressure of the bourgeoisie to extend their monopolistically controlled markets by the addition of less developed territories, can be called imperialism.

The scramble of the bourgeoisie of the highly developed capitalist countries for the conquest of monopolistically controlled markets could not proceed without collisions, since most territories of the world were already appropriated. Hence a sharp conflict of interests between individual capitalist powers developed and this in connection with the interests of the armament industries, which exercised great political influence, led to severe conflicts between individual powers. We can distinguish the following concrete conflicts in interest.

The Anglo-German Conflict.

Of all the capitalist countries of Europe, Germany showed the greatest rise during this period. It conducted a keen competition with British industry in the world markets. At the same time, as the youngest of the capitalist countries, Germany, had been left almost without colonies. It got only the meagre leavings of Great Britain. Owing to this circumstance the German bourgeoisie felt itself at a very great disadvantage. It desired a "place in the sun," that is, a share fitting its economic development, in the non-capitalist territories, for monopolistic exploitation. This pressure by the German bourgeoisie led to the most gigantic armaments on land, and above all on the sea. The latter was the main cause of England's jealousy since hitherto it had alone ruled on the sea.

Because of England's domination on the sea, Germany was forced to seek its spheres of influences more on Continental routes. Above all, it wished to subject Eastern Europe and Asia Minor to German capital. The building of the Bagdad railway, the construction of a direct connection between Berlin and Bagdad was the great conception of the German bourgeoisie. This necessarily, however, aroused the greatest disquiet in England, since the termination of the railway on the Persian Gulf threatened England's rule in India. The economic cause which led to the blazing up of the world war, was thus the question whether Asia Minor should come under the influence of Germany or England. More generally, it was whether Germany should be recognised as an imperialist power equal with England on land and sea. The second main conflict of interests was between Germany and France, and this concerned the domination of Central Europe. The question had to be decided whether Germany, in the form of the United States of Central Europe, should be the ruling power in Europe, or whether this part should fall to France as it had been in the

past, with the exception of the period from 1871 to 1914. This question is related with the problem of the Western European coal and iron mines.

A third conflict was the pressure of Russia towards an outlet into a sea of its own in the south, thus a pressure towards Constantinople and the India Ocean. The traditional struggle between England and Russia on this question was temporarily obscured by the attempt of Germany to reach the Indian Ocean by a railway line from West to East. The rivals, England and Russia, united in order to clear away the new rival for the moment more dangerous to England, Germany. Austria-Hungary, was completely materially and economically, absorbed into the German sphere of influence, while Japan and the United States appeared at the time to be standing outside these great conflicts of interest. These then, are the conflicts of interests which led to the greatest war in history.

Much has been written as to whether this war could have been avoided by a wiser policy. In general, a question of this sort is idle, and has only one meaning, that is, if one can draw lessons from it for the future. Before the war, there was a strong pacifist movement and popular economists, like Norman Angell, attempted to show beyond dispute, that war would be bad business for the bourgeoisie. This view in our opinion, has one mistake, namely, that it acts upon the assumption that the whole country including the bourgeoisie has one interest. As a matter of fact, the policy of the great capitalist countries was not decided by the people, and not even by the bourgeoisie, but by small groups of the higher bourgeoisie, the heavy industries, the great banks, the cartels, trusts, and combines. Even if the great middle strata in the various countries were economically ruined by the war, but special groups of leading capitalists were very greatly enriched by it.

That the bourgeoisie have not drawn pacifist lessons from the world war, is best proved by the fact that to-day, ten years after the world war, military armaments are increasing at a faster rate than before the war. In spite of the disarmament of Germany, arms are maintained, and the technique of slaughter is being perfected with the greatest zeal.

The question as to who was the aggressor in the world war seems just as idle. As a matter of fact, all the imperialist powers prepared beforehand for the world war, and the

most decisive point in answering this question, seems to be the fact that all had prepared, therefore all can be said to be the aggressors.

II. The Economic Consequences of the World War.

The world war had severe consequences for the whole economic system of capitalism. It was the beginning of a period of crisis in capitalism, it shook the foundations of the whole capitalist system.

The world war itself was an enormous dissipation of wealth.

(a) About 20 million men in the prime of their capacity for productive work were drawn away from industry and occupied with slaughter.

(b) Many millions also were withdrawn from regular production, to work on the production of munitions of war.

(c) At the seats of war, means of production and other wealth were destroyed in enormous quantities.

(d) It is very difficult to state how far production was reduced by the consequent impoverishment and under-nourishment of the peoples. In addition, the disabled are reckoned by the International Labour office at ten millions. With these bases we may reckon the fall in production caused by the war as follows :

1. The value of a years' production of one man was on the average, 2,000 gold marks; 20 million participants in the war at 2,000 a year is exactly 40 millards a year, and in the four and a half years of the war, 170 milliards gold marks.

2. Ten millions in the munition industries also credited with 2,000 marks, represent in four and a half years, 85 milliard gold marks. At the same time decreased production shows itself in the under-nourishment of the people, and in the reduction of the birth rate, which is only just beginning.

3. The direct damage caused by the war is difficult to estimate. For France alone it has been estimated at 26 milliard gold marks. In addition there are Belgium, East Prussia, Upper Italy, Serbia, Rumania and Russia; there are the sunken ships, totalling all together about 200 milliard

gold marks. These three items together represent about 450 milliard gold marks.

4. The diminution of production by progressive impoverishment and its damage to working power cannot be estimated. On the other hand, production was increased by the fact that the whole reserve army of labour was employed; women, children and the aged were employed in the process of production.

In his report to the Third Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Trotsky attempted to make a comparison of the wealth of the peoples before the war and their loss during the war. He produced the result that the national wealth of the warring powers before the war was 2,400 milliard gold marks, and that, during the war 1,200 milliard gold marks was annihilated. In addition the yearly decrease in production was 100 milliard gold marks, so that after the war, the national wealth of the warring powers was no more than 1,600 milliard gold marks.

This impoverishment in consequence of the war took its natural form. Building activity ceased completely, and has to a large degree not yet recommenced. Articles for daily use, such as furniture, clothes, etc., were not renewed; agriculture was carried on recklessly without care being taken to provide the necessary manure to replace the values taken out of the soil. Stocks of metals, textiles and food were used up. Foreign investments were used for the purchase of food, and of the most important raw materials, and were almost completely exhausted. Most of the belligerent countries who were able to do so, took up loans with neutrals, in order to anticipate and to use their future production.

Unequal Impoverishment in Different Countries.

The impoverishment varied in the different countries involved in the war; it is most intense in the Central European countries which were thrown back almost entirely upon their own internal production, and cut off from the world market by the blockade. In France and England, who had much capital invested abroad, and who received large loans from America, the impoverishment in the machinery of production and in other forms of wealth was less. **America and the colonies on the other hand, were enriched as a result of war.** The absence of European competition made a great industrial development in the overseas colonies possible, as

the lack of shipping and the concentration of European industry upon munitions and other necessities of war prevented it from its ordinary production.

This increased industrial development in the colonial countries it has produced a permanent cause of crisis in West European capitalism, which can no longer support its own population at home by exporting manufactured goods. Hence, the strong support given by the capitalists to emigration schemes, and the marked revival of Malthusianism.

The Grouping of the Powers.

Of the seven great imperial Powers which began the war, three dropped out after the war :

Russia, owing to the revolution and the separation of its border States, which are destined by the imperialistic powers to form barriers against Bolshevism.

Germany, from whom all imperialistic potentiality and power were rent away (destruction of the fleet, disarming the army, military occupation, loss of Alsace-Lorraine, Holstein, Posen, Upper Silesia, and the subjection of the whole land to the economic control of the Entente by means of the Experts.) By these methods Germany has been transformed from an imperial power into a colony of the Entente, an object of imperialistic exploitation.

Austria-Hungary, was broken up into pieces with the result that the whole of Middle and Eastern Europe was Balkanised.

England and France have extended and completed their colonial posessions as a result of the war. England reigns from the Cape to Cairo, and from Cairo to India. The French colonies contain more than a hundred millions of inhabitants.

But the true victors in the war, nevertheless, are neither France nor England, but the **United States**. As a result of the war, the U.S.A. has changed from a debtor State to a creditor State. The Entente countries owe 10,200 milliards of dollars to America between them (of this Great Britain owes 4,100 and France 3,300). Before the war America's external debt was far greater than the amount of capital it had invested abroad. To this must be added a large amount of American currency which is in circulation

in the Central European countries, and in exchange for which the U.S.A. received real wealth in one form or another.

We have also omitted to mention the large loans given to private companies, and the credits allowed for goods. America's position as the creditor of the Entente enables her to exercise strong political pressure upon the countries of Europe at every moment.

The result of the war has been to shift the **balance of productive power** to America. This is shown in the first place by the figures for the production of raw materials: America's share in the world production of petroleum rose from 65.3 per cent. in 1913 to 72.4 per cent. in 1923; her production of pig-iron rose from 39.7 per cent. to 61.6 per cent. and of steel from 40.1 per cent. to 61.6 per cent. of the world's production. Production in most of her other industries is also on the increase. America's automobiles constitute 90 per cent. of the world total. More than half the gold currency known to exist is to be found in the United States. In the last few years there has been a boom in the U.S.A., while all over Europe the slump remained. The boom of 1923 to April 1924 in America was practically limited to the U.S.A., and did not touch Europe at all.

The shifting of the balance of economic power to America is not only a result of the war, it only intensified a development which has already begun and which was due to the great natural resources of America (coal, petroleum, copper). While the production of coal in Europe is only possible at an ever-increasing cost, the cost of production in America is going down. Another source of wealth are the immense stretches of agricultural land which America has at its command (only 15 inhabitants to the square kilometre) and which are developed by all the most modern technical methods. For all these reasons Europe has been pushed back, both economically and politically, into a secondary role in comparison with the U.S.A.

Changes in Class Relations.

The impoverishment of the European countries is not universal, and does not extend to the classes of big capitalists or the owners of large estates; on the contrary these classes have seized even a larger proportion of the national income than they had before the war. Concentration and centralisation are continually proceeding. Since the war, the richer

bourgeoisie has succeeded, mainly with the help of the depreciation in currency, in expropriating the middle classes. The whole cost of the war, in the form of war debts, currency inflation, and depreciation of currency has been ultimately thrown entirely on the broad masses of the people. The classes which were most heavily hit were small shareholders, people living on their savings, holders of life insurance policies, pensions, etc. Typical of this class was the formation at the last German elections of a party representing these disappointed small rentiers (the Party of the Destitute). The concealment of this impoverishment by loans and inflation which occasionally gave the appearance, for a time at least, of an increase in wealth, only hid their misery from the middle classes temporarily.

The liquidation of the war debts of the State and of private debts by inflation was so profitable for the bourgeoisie that the bourgeoisie of the victorious countries began openly to demand it. Inflation is infecting one by one the victorious States (with the exception of the U.S.A.) and the neutral countries.

The result of all this is a marked intensification of the class struggle. The small group of big capitalists is growing always more and more powerful at the expense of the impoverished middle classes. Trustification and the formation of cartels is increasing at the same time. Monopoly is used without limit for the exploitation of the consumer.

The Question of Reparations.

The development of this question is a complete reflection of the whole crisis of capitalism. The following periods may be distinguished :

1. Germany must pay the whole costs of the Allies.

The result of this demand was the collapse of the currency, as in the final resort payments could only be made by an increased export of goods, or by gold. But the export of goods was restricted by all sorts of artificial barriers, while payments in gold, of which there was not a great reserve, could not be kept up. The sale of the paper mark in other countries and the handing over of securities, houses, land and other wealth to foreigners slightly prolonged the period during which Germany was able to pay something.

2. Germany can pay nothing more. Upon this followed the occupation of the Ruhr, which indicated the opening of the fight for the colonisation of Germany by English and French imperialism. France succeeded in conquering Germany, but had to give way to the economic superiority of England and America, and was, therefore, unable to carry out her scheme for smashing Germany completely to pieces.

3. Schemes of the Experts. These indicate the victory of England over the French attempt to smash up Germany. The Experts' Report converts Germany, by means of strict and systematic control, into a colony of the Entente, all the most important branches of German production are registered and financially controlled. Permanent burdens are laid upon German industry by the new conditions demanded of it, and secured by guarantees. This same aim of control is the reason for burdening the German railways with yearly tax of nearly a milliard, and for introducing a cost of living index, so that in the extremely unlikely case that Germany's economic condition should improve, this tax may be raised. The whole meaning of these plans is the permanent restraint of German industry, which has gained by inflation, and the restriction of its powers of competing with England and France.

The Crisis of Capitalism.

The years that have passed since the war have brought about a situation which may be called the war period of capitalism. Within this period booms and slumps succeed one another. But the whole system of capitalist society is involved in a permanent crisis, caused by the dynamical disturbances in the system of world capitalism. The most important signs of this period are :

1. The irregular curve of the upward movement. Whereas formerly a homogeneous transition from boom to slump could be observed throughout the whole world, every separate country now has its own cycle of booms and slumps. In 1922-23, America had a boom, but Europe had none. The following table shows the irregular curve of these progressions :

	1922			
	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter.
U.S.A.	Improvement	Good	Good	Good
England	Bad	Bad	Bad	Improving
France	Improving	Improving	Improving	Improving
Germany	Good	Very good	Remarkably good	Remarkably good
Czecho-Slovakia	Bad	Bad	Bad	Bad
Poland	Improving	Improving	Improving	Improving

1923

U.S.A.	Boom	Boom	Boom	Boom
England	Improving	Improving	Much worse	Much better
France	Growing worse	Worse	Better	Better
Germany	Bad	Bad	Slump	Slump
Czecho-Slovakia	Improving	—	Deteriorating	Undecided
Poland	Growing worse	Worse	Better	Better

1924

U.S.A.	Boom	Beginning of slump
England	Improving	Improving
France	Better	Better
Germany	Improving	Improving
Czecho-Slovakia	—	—
Poland	Bad	Bad

2. The Special Crisis in the Industrial Countries of Western Europe.

This is the result of the industrial development in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, to which we have already briefly referred, and also of the beginning of a decline in productive work throughout the world. The industrial countries of Europe are not in a position to feed their population, as they did before the war, by the export of manufactured goods. The gigantic extent of unemployment in England and Germany is due in the first place to the decline in the export trade. Emigration is no way out of this difficult position, and especially since the U.S.A. are continually putting up fresh barriers against immigration. The European bourgeoisie cannot pay higher wages, and are, therefore, attempting to improve the economic state of the Entente countries at the expense of Germany; this attempt, however, cannot be called successful.

3. The Crisis in Agriculture. The cost of food does not keep pace with the cost of manufactured goods, which are kept artificially high by the monopoly of the trusts which rule the market (the scissors). The purchasing power of the people of Europe has been greatly reduced by the general economic crisis and by unemployment. A period of slump is beginning, although the agricultural production of the world has not increased at all. On the contrary, according to the figures given by a German bourgeois economist, Professor Sering, the acreage sown in 1923 was much less than before the war: 17 per cent. less wheat was sown, 8 per cent. less rye, 13 per cent. less oats, and 24 per cent. less barley.

The existence of the "scissors" led to a crisis in agriculture, and especially in those countries like the U.S.A. and

Germany where the high prices formerly paid for agricultural produce had already established themselves in the form of ground rents.

All these conditions produce a general insecurity in economic relations, and this is intensified by the lack of a stable currency: speculation takes the place of production, crises due to inflation (resulting in a scarcity of goods) and stabilisation succeed one another. These economic conditions produce a permanent state of political insecurity: ministerial crises, parliamentary crises and party crises, are the order of the day in nearly all the European countries.

The Burdens of the Proletariat.

At the moment, the proletariat is bearing the chief burdens of the war. The first revolutionary movement of 1918 impelled the bourgeoisie to make certain concessions (the eight-hour day, social improvements, rise in wages). When the instinctive revolutionary impulse of the working masses had begun to decline, the offensive of the capitalists of all countries against the advantages won by the proletariat since the war, was opened. The first sign of it was the steady reduction in real wages to 50 per cent. or 80 per cent. of the pre-war standard. The wage reductions only took place amid great opposition. A decisive stage in the struggle was marked by the miners' strike in the spring of 1921 in England, which ended with a complete defeat. In Germany the wages of the woodworkers had fallen by the autumn of 1923 to only twelve per cent. of their pre-war wage. Those of other classes varied between 15 and 45 per cent. of the pre-war standard.

Side by side with these wage reductions goes the attempt of international capitalism to lengthen working hours—an attempt which has always met with considerable success.

The Social-Democrats and a certain number of bourgeois political economists, expect that the new method of dealing with the reparations question laid down in the Experts' Report, will lead to a marked improvement in the economic situation of Europe. This is a mistaken idea, for the Experts' Report really means the continuance of well-thought out and systematically executed plans for burdening the proletariat with the whole cost of the war, the middle classes having been already expropriated to a large extent and being also in no mood to submit to further exploitation. The success or failure of these plans depends upon the will to fight

of the proletariat and on its capacity for fight. Economically the Experts' Report marks a temporary relinquishment of reparation payments and the transformation of Germany into a colony of the Entente Powers in order, by artificial means to prevent German industry from developing far enough to injure the interests of French and English industry. The new scheme eases the crisis of capitalism in Germany, but will intensify its crisis in the industrial countries of Western Europe.

The period of crisis will last a long time unless a successful proletarian revolution makes an end of capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism are always being reproduced upon a more extended basis. The preparations for war against one another are being made at an increasingly rapid pace by the victorious powers. Despite the terrible results of the world war, the rich bourgeoisie is preparing for another war. In such circumstances, not bourgeois pacifism, but a proletarian revolution can hinder the outbreak of another war.

E. VARGA.



WAR LOSSES

TABLE I.

Casualties in the War.

Country	Population before the war (in millions)	No. mobilised	No. of deaths	In thousands		Prisoners [1]
				Wounded [5]	Prisoners [1]	
Germany	65	13,250	1,887	4,248	773	
			including those who were reported missing and did not return home—about 2,000			
Austria-						
Hungary	51	9,000	1,200 ²	3,200 ¹	443	
Turkey	23		437 ¹	408 ²	104	
Bulgaria	35	857 ³	101 ³	1,152	11	
France	40	8,195	1,359	4,200 ¹	454	
French Colonies	55		67			
Great Britain	45	9,496	744	1,693		65
Dominions and Colonies	376		202	429		
Italy	36	5,615	507 ¹	950	1,359	
Belgium	7.5	380	267 ¹	140 ¹	10	
Rumania	7.2	1,000	339		116	
Serbia	3	150 ³	707 ¹	350 ¹	100	
Greece	4.6	353 ³	15 ¹	40 ¹	48	
United States	91	3,800	107 ¹	246	5	
Russia ⁴	166		2,758 ¹	4,950	2,500	

Except where otherwise mentioned, the source of these data is the "Deutsche Statistische Jahrbuch, 1923."

Only the number of prisoners and all others marked 1, are taken from the work of Findman, "International Finance and its Reorganisations."

REFERENCES :

2 Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft, Statistik, Arbeiterbewegung 1923.

3 Total strength of the army at the end of the war. The original mobilisation strength, taking into consideration the entire loss, might amount to 1.2 for Bulgaria (where the number of wounded is obviously given as 1 million too high through a typographical error), 1.2 for Serbia, and 500,000 for Greece.

4 The figures for Russia are conspicuously high. These may include the losses of the civil war.

5 The statistics on the wounded obviously refer only to the number

of men *wounded* for Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia. The others refer to the number of *wounds* received. The French and other statistics figure that on an average every 2 wounded men receive three wounds.

As regards the war invalids, only approximate statistics were available except in the case of the French (Bulletin de Stat. gén. France XI., 4).

The total number of French disabled who have more than 10 per cent. earning capacity was given at 1,900,000 (out of 4,200,000 wounds and 5,200,000 sick). Out of quite a large number who were pensioned, 4.7 per cent. had an earning capacity of 100 per cent.; 37.3 per cent. of 80 per cent.; 38 per cent. of 65 per cent.; 13.6 per cent. of 60 per cent. It must be taken into consideration that the less seriously disabled in France and in all other countries were pensioned only temporarily in proportion as there was hope of recovery.

The number who reported at the French dispensaries up to 1919 was as follows: 19,700 with amputated arms; 274,900 with amputated legs (by the end of 1921 these increased to 60,000 together), and 61,200 with useless limbs. It must be taken into consideration that only part of the invalids report to the official dispensaries.

From the same source come the following statistics on serious disabilities: 3,000 with 2 or 3 amputated limbs; 20,000 with injured skulls; 2,000 to 3,000 blind; 3,000 to 4,000 with serious injuries in the face and jaws. These statistics, which were taken from an investigation made by French surgeons, are obviously incomplete.

On the assumption that 1.5 million permanently disabled remain, France suffered the following losses: out of a total number of 2,636,000 men between the ages of 20 and 49, capable of work in agriculture, 710,000 were disabled; out of a total of 2,226,000 industrial workers, 387,000 were disabled; out of a total of 1,230,000 workers in commerce and transportation, 200,000 were disabled.

According to the "Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris" (1923, IV.) the total amount of pensions granted up to 1923 amounted to 1,835,000 for disabled, 599,000 for widows and orphans, and 871,000 for parents and grandparents who lost their sons.

For Germany there are further data, taken from "Wirtschaft und Statistik," on the age of those who were

killed (this includes only those which were completed up to 1919) :

Under 18	years of age	...	...	...	46,659
„ 19	„ „	...	...	...	109,294
„ 20	„ „	...	...	...	158,265
„ 21	„ „	...	...	...	155,717
„ 22	„ „	...	...	...	137,995
„ 23	„ „	...	...	...	119,916
„ 24	„ „	...	...	...	102,738
„ 25-29	„ „	...	...	...	389,904
„ 30-34	„ „	...	...	...	247,760
„ 35-39	„ „	...	...	...	147,567
„ 40-44	„ „	...	...	...	58,600
„ 45 and over		...	...	...	690
					1,691,841

In addition to the losses due directly to the war, there are also the losses as a result of the decline in the birth rate and the increased death rate of the civilian population. The following table gives the number of births and deaths per thousand inhabitants in a number of large European cities (from *Jahrubuch für W. St. & A.*, 1923). The number of deaths follow the number of births for each city, separated by the sign —, so that the surplus of births or deaths is clear :

Year.	London	Paris	Berlin	Vienna	Moscow	Leningrad
1913	24.5—14.3	17.3—15.7	19.4—13.5	17.8—15.3	33.2—23.1	26.4—31.9
1914	24.3—14.6	15.6—15.7	17.6—14.6	17.1—15.2	33.2—23.1	25.0—30.6
1915	22.6—16.8	10.6—14.8	14.6—15.2	13.9—17.6	27.0—24.0	22.5—22.4
1916	21.5—14.7	9.7—15.0	10.8—15.1	11.6—18.2	22.9—23.0	19.1—27.8
1917	17.9—15.7	0.0—15.3	9.0—20.0	10.3—22.2	19.6—23.5	18.7—30.5
1918	16.0—19.2	10.5—17.3	9.8—20.7	9.8—24.2	14.8—24.3	15.5—51.8
1919	18.2—13.6	13.6—15.8	14.5—16.4	15.1—21.2	16.9—45.1	13.0—61.5
1920	26.9—12.8	19.7—15.2	17.5—16.0	16.3—18.5	21.9—36.0	21.8—38.6

Findman (see above) gives the total loss due to decline in the birth rate as follows. Great Britain, 500,000; unoccupied France, 833,000; Germany and Austria Hungary, 2.6 millions each.

Loss of property is given in the following table (all data from Findman, except the war costs for Japan, which were taken from Bogart's Yearbook). The *war costs* were arrived at in this way—in order to avoid counting the inter-allied debts twice, the credits granted by one ally to another

were subtracted from the creditor but counted in with the costs of the debtor.

Country	...	National wealth	National income	Cost of war
		—Before the war, in milliards—	Dollars	in millions
United States	...	200.0	35.0	23,159
Great Britain	...	70.5	11.0	33,421
France	...	58.5	6.0	31,324
Russia	...	60.0	6.5	26,522
Italy	...	22.8	4.5	15,636
Belgium	...	15.0	1.3	1,387
Japan	...	11.7	1.7	40,???
Germany	...	80.5	10.5	46,323
Austria-Hungary		40.0	3.8	24,858
Turkey	...	4.0	0.5	1,802
Bulgaria	...	4.0	0.5	732
British Dominions				4,198

In addition to the direct war costs, there are also the indirect losses of property: ruined private property on land is valued by Bogart at a total of 29.96 milliard dollars; the loss in the ruined area in Belgium is estimated at from 1¼ milliards (Keynes) to 8 milliards (Belgian Government); the loss in the ruined area of France is estimated by Loecheur at 15 milliards and by Klotz at 26.8 milliards of dollars, both of which are extremely exaggerated. (The expenditures by the French Government for restoration purposes have amounted so far to less than 60 milliards of paper francs.)

The loss in shipping is given by Bogart at 15,398,000 tons (one-third of the 46,970,600 tons available before the war), at a value of 6.8 milliards of dollars.

The loss due to decrease in production is estimated by Bogart at 45 milliards of dollars; the loss due to war subsidies at one milliard dollars; the economic loss suffered by the neutral countries at 1,750 million dollars. In addition there are the effects of the ruin of the labour power of many millions of men, which Bogart estimates to be a loss of 67 million dollars for future production.

The joint debt of all the European states, according to Findman, increased from 191,835 million gold marks in 1919, to 1,078,800 million gold marks in 1924.

WHAT WAR DID TO AMERICA

COMPARED with the European nations that were on the verge of ruin when America entered the struggle, the world war wrought no damage in that country, but served only to increase its physical wealth. Yet the world war made far-reaching changes in America—political, social and economic. America is no longer a nation with a tradition of isolation from world, and particularly European politics, or if the tradition is still remembered, it is with the feeling that it belongs to the school-day period of American development. This is not to say that all elements of American capitalism have succumbed to the lure of world politics and subscribe to the imperialist policy of the real rulers of America—the lords of steel and finance—but American foreign policy is now based on the financial conquest of Europe and the present government endorses the Morgan-Dawes plan for enslaving the German workers.

It is probable that in no country which entered the world war was there such a complete reversal of custom and legal procedure, based theoretically on the right of the people to rule through their elected representatives, as in the United States; certainly in no nation were the guarantees of individual liberty, of freedom of press, speech and public assemblage contained in the organic law of the land abrogated with such speed and so little mass protest. Following the declaration of war in April, 1917, almost overnight the United States changed from a nation in which the national government for more than a hundred years had never interfered with freedom of expression—except in one or two instances that called forth public disapproval—into a country where an army of government spies watched every act and listened carefully to every utterance of Labour, Radical, Liberal and revolutionary organisations and individuals.

For the first time in the United States a nation-wide censorship of the Press was inaugurated. Scores of governmental organisations, with power to control almost every activity of the masses, were set up and a period of persecution that gave employment to every slimy creature with the soul of a spy was begun. Naturally, Labour and revolutionary organisations were the first to feel the weight of the fist of American capitalism. The bureaucracy of the trade unions became spies of the government, and the capitalist class. They were more active even than the employers in informing upon and denouncing the members of the unions who refused to obey the orders of the American imperialists and their tools. An instance of this will be illuminating. When war was declared by Wilson, I was in Montana. In June a great strike of miners and metal tradesmen tied up copper production for six months following the smothering to death of 154 miners in the Speculator disaster in Butte. The local Labour officials, the officials of the State Federation of Labour and the officials of international unions who came to Butte (the largest copper mining camp in the world) all took the side of the Anaconda Mining Company and tried to break the strike. In public speeches and articles they excused the murder of Frank Little (taken from bed by night and hung by thugs of the mining companies). The president of the State Federation of Labour was one of the chief witnesses against me when I was tried and convicted of sedition, and he served on the State Council of Defence (a governmental body with arbitrary powers controlled by the mining companies) all through the war. Spies in the unions, spies maintained by the employers and the regular spies paid by the government were linked up into one gigantic espionage system that would have made the Czar turn green with envy.

Laws were railroaded through Congress and the State legislatures making acts and utterances of no importance before the war punishable with twenty years imprisonment. Freedom of speech and Press became a memory. The ordinary activities of Labour and revolutionary organisations became crimes.

The war was the excuse for these measures, but so successful were they in curtailing and suppressing strikes and agitation that the American capitalist class, unacquainted from experience with the immediate value of centralised power, were enamoured with their new tools and have never surrendered them.

My own case is an example, but there are many comrades who can tell a more stirring tale. Since 1917, there has been but one six-month period when I have not been either under arrest, in jail or out on bail awaiting trial. At present some forty-five members of the American Communist Party are out on bail of from 1,000 to 10,000 dollars, and liable to twenty years imprisonment if convicted.

The department of justice has been severely shaken by the exposures made as a result of the investigations following the Teapot Dome scandal, but it remains and is now headed by a House of Morgan lawyer.

Of all sections of the working class, the foreign-born workers have suffered the most, and this is one of the most striking changes that the war brought to America. Before April, 1917, America was really a land of refuge. It is true that the foreign-born were bitterly exploited in industry, that they were unable to find the unoccupied farming land they came to seek, and that they were robbed mercilessly in many ways by their unscrupulous countrymen and the cunning Yankees through the medium of a thousand shady schemes, but nevertheless, they could flee to the United States and be safe from pursuit of their governments. They did not even have to have a passport to land.

All this is changed. The foreigner, unless he is a moron or a counter-revolutionist, is no longer welcomed by American capitalism. During the war a tremendous propaganda machine designed to create prejudice against the foreign-born, particularly those from so-called enemy countries—was set up. It still works overtime. Far from welcoming those who have shown that they have vision and courage by struggling against oppression at home, America to-day will receive only those individuals who have the endorsement of the European capitalist governments.

Convicted of a mere misdemeanour a foreign-born worker can be deported and under the guise of Americanisation campaigns, a steady propaganda is poured out against the aliens. These campaigns serve three purposes. They make the alien workers timid and cautious about becoming active in Labour and revolutionary organisations, they divide the Labour movement and they instil into the mind of the backward American workers a pride of birth that is most useful to American imperialism.

On the economic field the war gave to American industry a tremendous impetus. The only country able to supply war munitions, food and clothing in the enormous quantities needed to glut the appetite of the war god, with profits that astonished even the avaricious American bourgeoisie, American industry grew like the proverbial mushroom. Tiny manufacturing plants secured war contracts, and in a time dependent upon the ability to secure labour, covered acres of ground. The big plants doubled, trebled and quadrupled their capacity and profits increased one hundredfold. America became one gigantic hive of industry, and far out in the agricultural districts could be heard the hum of machinery working day and night. Both for the capitalists and the working class—except the radical and revolutionary elements—war-time was a pleasant and profitable period. Billions of dollars were grafted. Millionaires were made in a day. The total crop as disclosed by the not too accurate income tax figures was 27,000.

Labour was at a premium, and with a "no strike on war work" clause in their agreement with the government, the unions were allowed to organise through closed shop agreements. The membership of the American Federation of Labour Unions grew to over 4,000,000, and the union officials became little satraps, protected by the armour of government authority.

All debauches must be paid for and though the "morning after" sickness has been postponed because of the health of the American capitalist organism, it now affects the participants in the orgy of war and exploitation. American industry did not decline immediately after the signing of the armistice. It had received too much of an impetus, and its competitors were unable to recover from the set-back they had received. In 1920, however, there was a depression due to the inability of European nations to buy, that lasted well into 1922. Then came another period of intense activity based on domestic demands that had been neglected by war productions, and this period is now ending. In America as in other capitalist nations, it is the basic industries that first give evidence of curtailment of markets, and in the United States the steel industry is operating at less than 65 per cent. of capacity. Unemployment increases rapidly, and by the first of the year will be of an acute nature.

Just as the war brought prosperity to American industry, so did it bring what seemed an inexhaustible market to American agriculture. The price of wheat was fixed at \$2.50 per bushel, and to farmers who once longed for "dollar wheat" as the Mohammedan longs for Mecca, this meant wealth.

Agricultural production expanded. Every available acre was tilled. Farmers bought all the land they could by a first payment of a portion of its price, and hungered for more. It costs money to farm in the United States. Machinery is vitally necessary, and like everything else, during the war period its price soared skyward. The farmers bought and bought, and went in debt for machines that American agricultural methods demanded.

Then the crash came. The market vanished, but debts contracted at war prices had to be paid. The Federal Reserve Bank (the financial agency of Wall Street, operated by the government) refused to make new loans or extend old ones. Hundreds of thousands of farmers were ruined in a few months' time, and so were hundreds of small banks to whom they owed money. The farmers suddenly discovered that with interest on mortgages and deferred payments on machinery, railroad increased taxes, rates fixed during the war, and never reduced, the centralised control of elevators and milling concerns controlling prices, they could not get for their produce enough to pay them for raising it and hauling it to market.

An exodus from the farms began and the flocking of the farmers into the industrial centres has made up to the capitalists the loss of surplus labour through the stoppage of immigration and has created a new problem for the Labour unions. In one industry alone—metal mining—about 65 per cent. of the workers are now farmers and their sons who have been starved off the land.

High wages during the war attracted much farmer labour into industry; the bankruptcy of the agricultural population since the war has driven the farmers themselves into industry. Early in 1914, the American population was about equally divided between town and country. Two years ago

statistics made the proportion 60 per cent. city and 40 rural; to-day it is probably 65 per cent. city, and 35 per cent. rural. America is now an industrial nation, and the once great prosperous and contented farmer population is bankrupt and restive.

I must mention here another phenomenon produced by the war, and the flood of racial and national hatreds it let loose. The scarcity of labour and the high wages paid in industry brought the negro from the southern plantations into the factories. Thousands of them were drafted into the army and after their discharge would no longer tolerate the tyranny of the southern employers, and the southern ruling class in general. Hundreds of thousands of negro workers have left the southern states, and the cotton plantation owner finds himself unable to raise cotton with the hymns of hate poured out by the Ku Klux Klan against the negro. Several million acres of fertile cotton land lies untilled.

Safety for American capitalism lies in keeping the enormous army of industrial workers employed. 100 per cent. American propaganda, the eulogising of the captains of industry by the capitalist Press, pictures of the Stars and Stripes waving proudly thrown on the screen in moving picture theatres, cannot take the place of bread, and the American worker is accustomed to being well-fed.

The strongest foundations of American capitalism have been greatly weakened; there is no longer a great acquiescent agricultural population; there is no longer a limitless market for agricultural products, for raw materials and manufactured commodities. The enormous gold supply, the tribute which the American imperialists have levied upon a suffering world tends to keeps prices high; the discontent of the middle class, ruined by the thousand through the process of deflation, is expressed by La Follette and the group of "progressive" senators and congressmen which he leads; thousands more will be ruined during the coming period of depression; the majority of the working class is now in industry and, therefore, potentially revolutionary; the capitalism of America appears to have reached the limits of expansion, and must now be placed in the list of national economics that are on the downgrade.

Yet it would be a serious, an inexcusable mistake, to conclude that the coming economic crisis will bring a political breakdown that offers immediate revolutionary possibilities. American capitalism has tremendous recuperative capacity; the South American market has already made up to some extent the loss of European fields, and it can be exploited much more intensively, and will be.

The American working class is poorly organised—perhaps one-seventh in trade and industrial unions—and saturated with ruling class conceptions of patriotism, efficiency for the employer and loyalty to the national institutions; the influx of farmers and negroes has had a distinctly reactionary effect upon the labour movement as must occur with the flooding of the labour market with groups even more backward than the American industrial workers.

The bankruptcy of the farmers, the inability of the capitalist political machine to prevent the airing of the Teapot Dome scandal and other evidences of far-reaching corruption in national affairs, gave a favourable opportunity for a break of the Labour organisations from the capitalist parties, but as the Communists stated would occur, a monstrous betrayal of the working class has been perpetrated by the Labour bureaucrats, the remnants of the Socialist party and the so-called progressives.

A great mass party of organised workers, working and exploited farmers with certain elements of the middle class, will not be formed this year. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of America, however, there will be formed a class party of workers and exploited farmers that will be a factor in the coming election, and that will be the beginning of a great mass party of the exploited toilers of America. The activity of the party in this field and its other avenues of activity has won it the leadership of the small but active and growing minority in the American Labour movement.

This leadership must and will be used to extend the influence of the party in the trade union movement, and among the unorganised industrial workers. It is among the industrial workers that the work must be prosecuted with the most vigour because of the enormous numerical strength

of the American working class and the diminishing importance of the agricultural population in American political and economic life as a result of the tremendous industrial expansion during and since the war.

It is a source of pride to every member of the American party that it is fully conscious of the tasks ahead and that in the last eighteen months it has firmly established itself before the American workers and farmers as the only revolutionary group in the greatest capitalist nation in the world. It is preparing now to acquaint the masses of American workers with the responsibility of capitalism for the coming crisis that will mean misery to millions and to organise and lead the American masses, under the guidance of the Communist International in the struggle against the dictatorship of American capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The war brought many new things to America, but none of more importance than the Communist Party of America in the place of the reformist Socialist Party whose former leaders are now in the arms of the tools of American imperialism—the Labour bureaucrats.

The trade union bureaucracy became part of the American capitalist government during the war. Long before the masses had any intimation that they were to be dragged into the struggle, a secret committee with wide powers had been formed by President Wilson. This committee included Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, and six representatives of the most powerful industrial and financial concerns in the United States. The work of this committee was to prepare the proper background for the entry of America into the war, to make ready all the necessary organisational and psychological measures, to create a popular demand for participation in the imperialistic struggle on the side of the allied nations, in the language of American commercialism, to "sell" the war to the people of America.

The conscription law—a wholly illegal and unconstitutional act, measured even by the elastic standards of American jurisprudence—was passed with the endorsement of the labour union bureaucracy and was enforced with comparatively little trouble, largely because of their co-operation.

The theory voiced by Gompers and his henchmen was that the war was a great popular undertaking to save the world from the Hunnish menace, and that for its duration anything smacking of the class conflict should be eliminated. To this end the American Federation of Labour executive council worked hand in hand with the national chamber of commerce—the organisation of the bourgeoisie—to enforce the conscription act; State federations of labour, central labour councils and local unions were mobilised both by coercion and propaganda to drive all eligible trade unionists into the army and assist the army intelligence service and the department of justice in rounding up the "slackers"—the term applied to those workers who tried to evade military service.

In the drives for securing subscriptions for the "Liberty Loan," for the Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross, the relief work of Knights of Columbus—Catholic—and other auxiliary financial measures and organisations that bar, which advantage was taken of the war hysteria to batten upon the masses, the Labour bureaucrats were in the front rank. Boards of conciliation for labour disputes were set up by the dozen; "labour investigators" were appointed by the hundred; government employment offices were opened and Labour bureaucrats put in charge of the work of recruiting labour for the shipyards and munition plants. Enormous salaries were paid and liberal expenses allowed for these sinecures. The Labour bureaucrats became war profiteers, and nothing but praise for the high purposes of American capitalist government and denunciation of rebels came from their lips.

When the Industrial Workers of the World organised strikes in the lumber camps and metal mines, it was to the Labour bureaucracy that the capitalists hurried for assistance, and they responded loyally by outdoing the capitalist Press in condemnation of the workers who dared to strike when "the nation is straining every nerve to win a righteous war."

When savage sentences of from five to twenty years were meted out to 10 members of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Chicago trial, no group was more jubilant than the trade union bureaucracy.

Financed out of the 100,000,000 dollars slush fund

voted to President Wilson by Congress when war was declared, Samuel Gompers made the "American Alliance for Labour and Democracy." Into this auxiliary organisation of American imperialism flocked the Labour bureaucrats and Socialists like Charles Edward Russel, Chester M. Wright, A.M. Simons, etc.—all the petty-bourgeois elements of which the Socialist party was largely composed.

Special trains were chartered and armies of speakers toured the country, descending upon local Labour organisations suspected of disloyalty or lack of whole-hearted enthusiasm for the slaughter; with the aid of the police, the volunteer terror organisations by means of economic pressure the unions were whipped into line.

The clang of the jail doors or the tar and feathers and noose of the white-collared mobs drowned the voices of protest. Reaction reigned supreme and continued in full sway long after the armistice was signed. It was in 1919 that John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America ordered his members to submit to an injunction prohibiting them from striking, with the statement: "We are Americans and we cannot fight our government." When he used the word "our" he expressed the attitude of the Labour bureaucracy—they consider it their government, and they are right—they are part of it.

There has been no substantial change in the situation since that time except that a process of disillusionment has gone on among the masses that makes more difficult the task of persuading them that their interests are identical with those of their exploiters. The Labour bureaucracy remains the tool of American imperialism; it makes no protest against the atrocities perpetrated upon the Latin American peoples and the Filipinos in the name of democracy; it endorses the Morgan-Dawes' plan for the enslavement of the German working class; it forms a united front with the blackest organisations of capitalist reaction against the Communist-led left-wing in the Labour movement, and it outdoes the capitalist Press in the venomous attacks it launches against Soviet Russia.

American capitalism learned the value of the Labour union bureaucracy as an ally during the war, and so servile has this treacherous crew become that, contrary to all previous

procedure, it no longer even insists on wage concessions for the section of the working class that supports it.

This supine cowardice plays directly into the hands of the Communists and destroys, slowly but surely, its only means of influencing the organised American workers. Backward as the trade unionists of America are, they will not long support an officialdom that will not fight for higher wages, shorter hours and more control of the job.

The war elevated the Labour bureaucracy to a position of great power as a wing of the government, but it also created the conditions that will isolate it from the organised masses.

WILLIAM F. DUNNE.



They Betrayed the Workers with a Lie

THEY betrayed the workers with a lie—a bourgeois lie! They told us we must defend *our* country and *we had no country*. They told us that the violation of Belgium, the “tearing of a scrap of paper” was the issue for which we must shed our blood and sacrifice the manhood of a generation. It was a lie—a bourgeois lie. They said it was to “stamp out militarism,” to “save civilisation,” to “establish the rights of small nations,” The bourgeoisie had said the same. And they lied.

We expected lies from the bourgeoisie and from the hacks of the capitalist Press, but from the leaders of *Labour*, from the leaders of the great multitude without a “fatherland” or “motherland,” we expected the truth and were given lies upon lies.

Mr. Tom Shaw (present Minister of Labour) said at the Labour Party Conference, 1916: “Whatever arrangements we had with France or any other country, the war was due primarily to an unjustifiable attack by Germany upon Belgium.”

Mr. J. H. Thomas at the same Conference said: “He believed that the real cause of this war was not so much the jealousy of Kings or Governments, but that the spirit of militarism had been incalculated in the minds of the people. . . .”

Mr. Wardle, Chairman of the 1917 Labour Party Conference said in his presidential speech: “I am proud of the fact that the majority of the Labour Party threw itself into the struggle with all the ardour at its command and my one regret has been that this decision has not been unanimous

(though we have the satisfaction of knowing that not even the minority desire to see the issue settled by the victory of the Central powers) and that the whole strength of the Party has not been available in a cause which in my opinion embodies every true hope for which we have ever stood and every real aspiration for peace which we have ever given our unflinching adhesion.”

Oh, the “high ideals,” the “true hopes,” the “real aspiration for peace” the “spirit of militarism”!!

1. “Alsace Lorraine to be restored to France.”

2. “The frontiers to be extended . . . inclusion of the entire iron districts of Lorraine and the coal district of the Saar Valley.”

3. “The rest of the territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire, are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon her.”

4. “The territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral state, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the treaty of peace.”

5. “By the future treaty of peace, Italy is to receive the district of Trentino: the entire Southern Tyrol . . .”

6. “Should France and Britain extend their Colonial possession in Africa at the expense of Germany, they will admit in principle Italy’s right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions . . . in colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies.”

Need we quote more? It is one of the ironies of history that a Government drawn from the ranks of Labour, functioning as the left wing of the bourgeoisie, with the so-

called pacifist MacDonald at its head, should be responsible for giving effect to the latter demand.

If for a moment it be asserted that these leaders of Labour did not know the character of the war that was being waged, that they were victims as well as the masses, we declare that lies are being added to lies. From thousands of platforms, Socialist and Labour speakers had for years been uttering warnings of the coming war. In 1910, at the Copenhagen Conference so keen was the sense of the impending danger that Kier Hardie moved that in the event of war the International should declare a general strike. At the Basle Congress of 1912, it was obvious that war was imminent, and the famous resolutions indicating the measures to be taken in the event of war, were passed—and forgotten—except by a very small minority.

The Labour Party Report for 1916 describes the situation in the Second International during July, 1914, as follows: "It was when the attention of the whole movement was riveted on military and industrial affairs in Ireland towards the end of July, 1914, that smoulderings of diplomatic disturbances in central Europe suddenly threatened to burst into the blaze, that arrangements were being completed for the attendance of British delegates at the International Socialist Congress which was to be held in Vienna in the following month. Suddenly the whole aspect of the situation was changed and the diplomatic and political consequences of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia became startlingly apparent to the British people.

Realising the baleful effects that were likely to follow, the International Socialist Bureau held a special session in Brussels, when delegates representing all the European countries met and discussed the dangers that were imminent . . ."

The war did not come upon the Labour movement like a thief in the night. They saw. They knew. Nor does the situation change even after the publication of the secret treaties. Had they been under the influence of illusions and misled as to the nature of the war, the treaties would have come upon them with a great shock. But, although they were published by the Russian Soviet Government in 1917, and reprinted in the British Press immediately, the Labour Party Conference met in January, 1918 and declared

through its chairman, "The Labour Party at its conference has declared by resolution their desire to see the war fought to a successful conclusion, and now that they have made clear what they were aiming at, now that the United States have laid down the principles upon which they are prepared to negotiate, the onus of responsibility for continuing the war lies with the central powers. If they do not accept them we shall see clearly their designs, and I believe the Labour Party will make the firm declaration that the war must continue until victory is assured."

Only MacDonald mentioned the secret treaties. He said : "These secret treaties were not in accordance with Labour's war aims (Labour's war aims, if you please), nor with the pledges given to the men who joined the colours . . . they (the Allied Governments) must revise those secret treaties and publish a joint declaration in accordance with the resolution . . ."

And we have seen what MacDonald has already done. Did he revise the pact with Italy? Did he even protest? Ask Mussolini, the other renegade Socialist and read the Hansard records of the Labour Government.

* * * * *

We repeat, they saw the war coming. They knew the character of the war and the whole British Labour Movement became divided into three sections. First, there were the Shaws, the Thomas's, the Clynes, the Wardles, the social-patriotic leaders who do not wish to abolish capitalism, who are the faithful allies of the capitalists and traitors to the workers in every crisis of capitalism. Second came the word spinners against capitalism who deliver dignified sermons and stifle the mass revolts of the workers, who urge the workers to retreat in a "gentlemanly way" before the will and power of the capitalists whether at war or peace. These are the MacDonalts, the supporters of the Independent Labour Party. Third, comes the very small groups who took their stand upon the fact that "The war was not started by the sinister will of the robber capitalists, although it is fought in their interests, and is not enriching anybody else. The war was the consequences of the development of international capitalism in the course of the last fifty years of its endless combinations and ramifications." Hence to drop the class war because the capitalist governments desire to continue their politics by military measures is to surrender the

working class for the slaughter and perpetuate the rule of capitalism. This they refused to do, and by continuous propaganda, they denounced the war, exposed its character and purpose, seized every opportunity of discontent amongst the workers to lead them into the struggle through strikes and demonstrations as a means of developing the class war out of the imperialist war. Through the activities of the Socialist Labour Party of that period and a section of the British Socialist Party, their activities led to the creation of a mass movement in the form of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees. These constituted the sum total of the class war fighters against the Imperialist war, and out of them came the present Communist Party. They saw. They spoke. They translated their words into deeds.

But they had not the control of the Labour movement. The social-patriots of the Labour Party and the word spinners of the Independent Labour Party were in control. They had their differences, but their deeds had the same result. How can there be any differences in deeds between those who openly support capitalism and those who only oppose capitalism with sermons and moral hysteria? Let the records speak!

On August 5th, 1914, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party passed the following resolution: "That the conflict between the nations in Europe in which this country is involved is owing to Foreign Ministers pursuing diplomatic policies for the purpose of maintaining a balance of power; that our own national policy of understandings with France and Russia only was bound to increase the power of Russia both in Europe and Asia, and to endanger good relations with Germany."

The capitalists showed no sign of worry at this pronouncement. It did not mean anything to them. No doubt a record was taken to show no ill feeling.

The next resolution said: "That Sir Edward Grey, as proved by the facts which he gave to the House of Commons, committed without the knowledge of our people the honour of the country, to supporting France in the event of any war in which she was seriously involved, and gave definite assurances of support before the House of Commons had any chance of considering the matter."

The capitalists did not even say, "What about it?" They knew quite well that the situation had developed so far that it did not matter twopence whether the House of Commons knew more or less. But again it raises no challenge, so why need the capitalists worry?

Nor does the final resolution which reads: "That the Labour movement reiterates the fact that it has opposed the policy which has produced the war, and that its duty now is to secure peace at the earliest possible moment on such conditions as will provide the next opportunities for the re-establishment of amicable feelings between the workers of Europe."

Having "opposed the policy that has produced the war" it surrendered to the war and gave into the hands of the capitalists also the means of making the peace on their own terms. A novel way of securing peace is surely that of surrendering to war and throughout refusing to do anything which will challenge those in charge of the war. The resolutions are pious words meaning—just nothing.

That was the beginning of the surrender along the whole working class front, and throughout there was little to distinguish the right wing and the centre. The right wing said, yes, we surrender, and are at your service. The centre said it isn't proper to know, but we are at your service all the same. On August 7th, both accepted the war credits.

On August 24th both agreed to an industrial truce.

On August 29th they agreed not only to an industrial truce as if all the class antagonisms had been removed, but also to an electoral truce, the field upon which they think all differences should be fought.

On the same date, the right wing agreed to join the recruiting campaign. This the others did not oppose, although they did not become active participants, except Mr. MacDonald, whose recruiting letter to the Mayor of Leicester we cannot forget. Then the whole trade union movement was advised to abrogate all its rules and regulations that might interfere with production, and were promised that suspension of these rules and practices would be made good after the war. With this lie they swindled

the workers into a retreat along all fronts. No industry was more vitally affected than the engineering industry, and the 1924 conditions proclaim how greatly they lied. Wages are lower, conditions are worse, the open shop is predominant, the competition for jobs more severe.

But let the record proceed. In May of 1915, Henderson, on behalf of Labour, entered the bourgeois Cabinet. In July came the Munitions of War Act, resisted only by the miners who by direct strike action in South Wales kept the miners free from this pernicious piece of legislation throughout the war. Early in 1916 came the suppression of the revolutionary Press and arrest of those on the Clyde who were in opposition to government policy and dare show it. In April came the Easter rising in Dublin, when Connolly led the Irish workers and Nationalists in revolt. And Labour in the Cabinet represented by Henderson, the Labour Party secretary, remained silent whilst the bourgeois Cabinet ordered the murder of the wounded Connolly. Betrayal of the working class? The pages reek with lies, treachery and cowardice.

In January, 1916, the Labour Party Conference decided against conscription. They talked and talked and talked. Mr. Thomas thought it a very serious proposition. So did MacDonald, and so did they all. But words are words, and deeds are deeds. The Government acted. Labour talked. Conscription came.

When Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, the Labour Party plunged still further and sent its quota to the Cabinet. There appeared no limits to the betrayal. Defence of the Realm Acts made no difference. Capitalism could go on laying the foundations of social hell and slaughtering its millions, but so long as it was done in the name of the war nothing must be done. But Labour could talk and Labour formulated what it called its War Aims! And its attitude was as follows: "Please, gentlemen, we were not responsible for war, and we know it is not our place to appear rude or in any way to think above our station in life, but, please, will you give consideration to our hopes, our ideals, our war aims when you make the peace?"

Mr. Wilson told them he thought he had expressed the aims of everybody in the war in much better terms in his Fourteen Points. And they answered, "Yes, Mr. Wilson, you are right."

Suddenly there was a call to an international Socialist Conference at Stockholm. Twice they decided that Labour would be represented—with the kind permission of the Government. The Government said No. And not having a majority in Parliament they could not do anything. To travel illegally and break the bourgeois regulations on behalf of the workers was unthinkable. The war went on.

The peace came, and Labour did not make it. The Imperialists made it in the form of the Versailles Treaty, and the Labour leaders have become its administrators.

1914-1924. Ten years, in which the social-patriots and pacifist leaders of British Labour have proved to be always of the imperialists and the propagators of the lie—that capitalism can be conquered by words and not by deeds, by the plausible tongue and not by might. It cannot. Capitalism demonstrated on August 4th, 1914, that it will fight to the death with every weapon at its disposal to settle its sectional differences. The intervening years have proven that there are no moral limits to the application of its forces when attacked from any direction. To tell the workers other than this truth, and to fail to prepare an answer in similar terms was to betray them with a lie—a bourgeois lie.

J. T. MURPHY.



The German Labour Movement & the War

I.

AUGUST 4th is the tenth anniversary of the day which was to prove so catastrophic for the German proletariat and the proletariat of the whole world. Catastrophic for the German proletariat in general, but particularly so for the Socialist and trade union movement. This article proposes to give a brief historical retrospect in connection with the tenth anniversary of that fatal day which saw the ignominious collapse of the international working class movement; the day on which the proletariat of Europe rose up in arms against each other, leading to the shedding of so much precious workers' blood; the day on which the world war broke out, to be liquidated only four and a half years later by the revolutions in Russia, Germany and Austria. The proletariat of these countries were only partially able to transform the imperialist war of 1914 into civil war. A brief retrospect is essential, if only because the imperialist war, in Germany at least, is still not at an end. The troops of French imperialism are still stationed on the Rhine. The war which broke out in August, 1914, is still being carried on, although with other weapons.

The world war was a war conducted in the interests of the bourgeoisie; it was a conflict of competing Imperialist states for the redistribution of the world. It was a fight for cheap raw materials and markets. It was a fight for cheap labour power and for spheres for investment of capital which could not be invested at home. In 1847, Karl Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto that, as the result of competition and the tremendous development of the national powers of production, the bourgeoisie of all countries would be compelled to search the globe for ever more distant markets.

In the world market, in the colonies, the imperialist states came into collision and the struggle was fought out in the home countries. The fight was for no high ideals, but for a very sober reality—profits. The German proletariat, which at that time was the best organised in the world, allowed itself to be chained, blindfolded, and impotent, to the chariot of imperialism, to the chariot of the German bourgeoisie. Its leaders, the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions, delivered it bound hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. Ten years have elapsed since that fatal hour. The Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders have been steadily proceeding along the path of treachery. They have heaped betrayal upon betrayal. In the service of the capitalist social order, and the bourgeois dictatorship, they have descended to the assassination of the revolutionary leaders of the German proletariat.

They have become the hired executioners of their class.

Apart from the crushing of the German revolution in this long tale of knaveries, three days stand out which re-enact August 4th, over again. They are :

1. The march of the French into the Ruhr, and the declaration of passive resistance.
2. The passing of the Emergency Powers Act.
3. The Experts' Report.

In connection with these facts the revolutionary proletariat of Germany are faced with certain very difficult problems. The German bourgeoisie wants to place the cost of the world war on to the shoulders of the proletariat, and it is, therefore, with the partial support of the world bourgeoisie, carrying on a bitter sanguinary struggle against the proletariat. Class contradictions in Germany are assuming an unprecedented acuteness. The Social-Democrats, true to their role of watchdogs of the bourgeoisie, are appealing to the proletariat to maintain peace and order. They talk of peace, carrying on a bloody war against their own class in the service of the bourgeoisie.

In France, England, America, Japan, Germany, and in fact throughout the world, the bourgeoisie are talking of peace but are preparing for a new imperialist war. After

en years, academic discussions are still being carried on as to whether Germany was exclusively guilty for the last war. Long articles and books are written on the subject. And the Social-Democrats of 1914 are the chief participants in this futile discussion. To what end?

A pacifist illusion is again being fostered in the proletariat, and in spite of, or rather because of, the menace of a new imperialist war, which as in 1914 is to deliver the proletariat bound hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. This must not be. The proletariat must clearly realise what the situation is. The workers must not be allowed to be fed with the Social-Democratic illusions, they must not be lulled by the pacifist slogan of "No More War!" The bourgeoisie is carrying on a daily bitter and bloody struggle against the proletariat. The slogan of the workers must, therefore, be "Not Imperialist War, but Civil War!"

II.

The capital crime committed against the German working class did not begin on August 4th, when the Social-Democrats in the German Reichstag through their spokesmen, Hugo and Hasse, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the bourgeoisie officially declared that "they would be second to no party in the defence of the German fatherland," and that "they would not leave the Fatherland in the lurch in its hour of need." They had the shameless audacity to add that in making this declaration they had the approval of the whole International. No, one must go back a bit further in order to trace the origin of the final capitulation to German capitalism on August, 1914, the surrender of the whole German working class with its four million electors and its powerful army of two and a half million trade unionists. Rosa Luxemburg, in her Junius Brochure, cites the following passage from Friedrich Engels on the role that falls to the Social-Democrats, the party of the proletariat, during a great war.

"A war in which the Russians and the French invaded Germany would be a war of life and death for the latter, in which she could preserve national existence only by the 'application of revolutionary measures.' The present government, will not unleash the revolution unless it is compelled to. But we have a powerful

party which can compel it, or if need be, replace it—the Social-Democratic Party.

“ And we have the great example given us by France in 1793. The hundredth anniversary of 1793 is approaching. . . .”

The 111 Social-Democrats who then sat in the German Reichstag no longer had Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx as counsellors by their sides. But they had their works and their teachings, and these were clear and unmistakable as is proved by the words of Friedrich Engels quoted above. They could not offer the excuse that they had previously not considered the question of war, or that they had not sufficiently realised the danger of an imperialist war, since there were the decisions and the war resolution of the Second International at Stuttgart in 1907, renewed at Basle in 1912, and which ran as follows:—

“ Should war, however, break out, it is the duty of the Social-Democrats to strive to bring it to a swift conclusion and to exert every effort in order to take advantage of the economic and political crises produced by the war for the purpose of rousing the masses and thereby exploiting the overthrow of the domination of the capitalist class.”

Moreover, on the occasion of the Moroccan crisis in December, 1911, when, owing to the rabid campaign of the German imperialists, there was a danger of a European war, an international conference in London adopted the following resolution:—

“ The German, Spanish, British, Dutch and French delegates from the working class organisations of their respective countries, declare that they will be ready to oppose the declaration of war with every means in their power. Each nation represented takes upon itself the duty to oppose the criminal conduct of their ruling class in accordance with the resolutions of their national and international congresses.”

A series of further resolutions, decisions and speeches of important Social-Democratic and trade union leaders may be quoted, as for instance, the statement of August Bebel, in the Reichstag on the occasion of the Morocco Crisis.

"Then will come the catastrophe. The great general march in Europe will begin; from 16 to 18 million men, the flower of their respective countries, armed with the most up-to-date weapons, will march against each other as enemies. In my opinion, after this general march, will come the great collapse. It will not come through us, it will come of itself. You are carrying things too far. You are heading for a catastrophe. You will reap what you have sown. The twilight of the bourgeois world has set in. Be assured, it has set in."

In addition, we could quote a host of newspaper articles from the Social-Democratic Press which clearly and unmistakably prove that among the Social-Democratic leaders, there was no doubt as to where the path was leading. But August 4th came, nevertheless. It was no sporting chance. We must investigate the profound and ramifying objective causes which led to the subjective renunciation of the Social-Democratic leaders.

The danger manifested itself not only at Socialist Party or trade union congresses. It began in the very cradle of the Social-Democratic Party. And one has only to read the criticisms of the Gotha Programme by Karl Marx and the energetic letters of Freidrich Engels addressed to Bebel, and to observe the reactions of our prominent leaders, as for instance, Wilhelm Liebknecht, to the dagger thrusts of Karl Marx, in order to realise that the leaders of that period failed to understand the warnings of Marx and Engels. And what they seemed to understand least of all was Karl Marx' criticism of their "Free Popular State" and his teachings regarding the State. This fatal error contained the seed of all that was to follow and led directly to the crime of August, 1914.

In the period that followed, nothing changed in this respect. The economic conditions were responsible for this. The colossal development of the productive forces of Germany since the nineties, and the consequent relative improvement in the economic condition of the working class, led (as was the case in England) to the development of a corresponding ideology within the economic organisations of the proletariat. A ruling class grew up in the trade unions—working class aristocracy. It took advantage of its economic and numerical superiority in order to foist its policy upon the party also. Certain theoreticians, to mention

Bernstein alone, stood godfather. Kautsky, the theoretician of the party and of the Second International, capitulated upon all fundamental questions of revolutionary Marxism before Bernstein, and, therefore, before bourgeois science. Thus, on the question of impoverishment and on the question of the general strike, which particularly affected the German trade union leaders, Kautsky permitted Marxism to be falsified in the crassest fashion. It was Kautsky who rejected the international decisions of Stuttgart and Basle, and in spite of the teachings of Marx and Engels, declared after the renunciation of the Second International upon the outbreak of the war, that the latter was an instrument of peace. But Kautsky had already begun to dilute the Marxian teachings before the war. These gentlemen had opened an inlet for the pollution of the bourgeois Chauvinist Press in the very ranks of the organised proletariat, and the filth was poured in by bucketfuls. They prepared the proletariat ideologically for the mass war psychosis of August 14th.

III.

The decision of the German Social-Democratic Party to vote German imperialism the means for conducting the war, determined the subsequent conduct of the Social-Democrats. Therewith collapsed not only the strongest and most influential party of the Second International, but the International itself.

The speeches and resolutions, decisions and solemn oaths of the representatives of the proletariat of the world were thus lightheartedly broken and cast to the winds. For this fatal step the German trade union bureaucracy bears an overwhelming share of blame.

A few days prior to August 4th, mass meetings had been organised to protest against the war. Hermann Müller was in Paris and Brussels and there revived and stiffened the decisions of Stuttgart and Basle. Then came the great collapse.

Everybody knows the excuses given for this shameful deed : " Democracy must be united against the despotism of Czars," the statement of Bebel's in the Reichstag to the effect that " in a war against Russia he would himself carry a rifle," " trade union funds must be saved," etc.

The workers were led astray by the International. Confused by the vigorous campaign carried on in favour of the war, they were driven into the arms of nationalism. The Social-Democrats who had said A, were obliged to say B also.

They marched with the Kaiser's Government through thick and thin. They advocated continuing the war to the bitter end. They supported the government in bleeding the masses in the form of war loans. The names of Scheidemann and Legien were boldly invoked in all the manifestoes and communications of the Kaiser's government. There was a complete class truce. The slightest movement of the working class against the war provoked by poverty and misery (one has only to remember the Famine winter of 1917) was denounced by the Social-Democrats and trade union leaders as treason against the fatherland. Karl Liebknecht was declared to be insane; Rosa Luxemburg, Ruhle, Mehring, and others languished in prison.

Opposition members in the party and opposition workers in the factories were denounced by the Social-Democrats and sent into the trenches, whereas patriots were recalled. No general staff was complete without a Social-Democrat. With the connivance of the Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders, Belgian workers were deported and the population of the occupied areas compelled to perform war work. The Social-Democrats and trade union leaders also bear responsibility for the compulsory service act. When all hope of a victorious conclusion to the war failed, the Social-Democrats came forward advocating "national defence" and called for fresh millions to be driven to the shambles by that mass slaughterer, Ludendorf. **Nearly two million killed and four million wounded and crippled**—this was the result of the war policy of the Social-Democrats.

The fight for Socialism was for them a mere phrase to which their deeds stood, and still stand, in diametric contradiction. On the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, we must vividly recall to the minds of the masses the monstrous crimes which the Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders, in intimate alliance with the German bourgeoisie, committed against the German working class.

The day of reckoning will come, and they know it. Hence the continued oppression and the ruthless class war against the proletariat.

IV.

The protraction of the war, the terrible sacrifices, the hunger, weariness, and want, transformed the enthusiasm of August, 1914 into **hatred of the war**. The propaganda carried on during the war inside the Social-Democratic Party by the opposition against the Chauvinist Social-Democrats, found a ready response among the war-weary masses. The truth regarding the real causes of the war gradually penetrated to the workers and soldiers. Offers of peace were made. Wilson's Fourteen Points disorganised the front. The hatred of the masses was chiefly directed against the officers, who were regarded as the symbols of the imperialist war. Then came the collapse, following on the revolt against the war.

Only in a very few places in Germany was it possible to lend the revolt a political significance. The agitation of the small Spartacus Bund, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, with the object of starting the proletarian revolution in Germany, was only with difficulty made understandable to the masses. The members of the Spartacus Bund carried on a heroic fight, but the pacifist spirit created by the objective conditions, powerfully supported by the pacifist agitation of the Social-Democratic Party and the Independent Social-Democratic Party, was too strong. It was only after the dictation of the Peace of Versailles, it was only when the aims of Entente imperialism became clear, that the pacifist spirit began slowly to decline among the working class masses. The small Spartacus Bund then grew by leaps and bounds bringing highly-explosive material among the masses.

Great strikes took place, but they were usually fought for economic aims. Uprisings began to increase. The class conscious proletariat slowly surmounted the wave of pacifism and began to organise itself in the Communist Party, and the Third International. But the German bourgeoisie also organised, aided by the Social-Democrats. Noske came to power and organised the Reichswehr, smashing one after the other the risings in Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Central Germany, and the Soviet Republic of Munich. It was he who made possible the creation of the illegal organisations of the bourgeoisie, the present-day German Fascist Leagues. The dictated Peace of Versailles came into force.

A New August 4th.

The Social-Democrats gave their consent to the Peace of Versailles and did all in their power to enable the German bourgeoisie to place the burdens of the Peace Treaty upon the shoulders of the German workers. Owing to the contamination of pacifism, the proletariat were unable to create a class front. The fulfilment of the Versailles Treaty meant the enslavement of the German working class and the colonisation of Germany.

Great struggles have meanwhile taken place in Germany; large sections of the German proletariat have assumed the defensive; but it has so far not been possible to make these struggles general, to co-ordinate them, and transform them into a broad and swift current making for the clear and unmistakable aim—Revolution and Civil War.

It is clear from the resolutions of the Second International at Stuttgart and Basle, which were inspired by Kautsky, *i.e.*, by the German Social-Democrats, it is clear from the differences which existed within the Social-Democratic Party between the Right and the Left on the subject of imperialism, and from a number of speeches and publications, that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party were quite conscious of the fact that the war was being carried on for economic aims. If there could have been any doubt, it was removed when the German imperialists, headed by Hugo Stinnes, declared officially in the Press, that Germany (*i.e.*, a small clique of industrial magnates) needed the French ores of Longwy and Brigue for the economic expansion of Germany. **The war, therefore, was a war for coal and iron.**

The Social-Democrats consciously led the German proletariat into the war on behalf of private capitalist interests.

The result of the war was the defeat of the German bourgeoisie. But the objects of the war, the ore of France and the coal of Germany still remained severed, and the question of uniting them found no final solution in the peace treaty, owing to the resistance of the British bourgeoisie. The fight for their union continued, **but for different ownership.**

German coal was now to be united to French ore. The two prolegomists were almost equally strong. The

French bourgeoisie which had now assumed the aims of the German bourgeoisie, possessed the bayonets, but the German bourgeoisie possessed better organisation and finance. Other ways and means for this attainment of this aim had to be found; and they were found.

The German bourgeoisie sabotaged the deliveries in kind provided for by the Peace Treaty, and thereby furnished the French with a formal pretext for marching into the Ruhr. In the Press the German bourgeoisie howled and shrieked of patriotism, but at the same time they were secretly negotiating with the French bourgeoisie.

January, 1922, was a new August. The German Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders needed not to renew their alliance with the bourgeoisie. They were just as patriotic in their speeches, writings, in Parliament, and at public meetings. They were once again the cause which prevented the proletariat from protecting itself against its enemies. When the French marched into the Ruhr, the Social-Democrats and the trade unions placed their whole organisation at the service of the German capitalists. They declared passive resistance and in conjunction with the bourgeoisie, crushed the strikes and risings of the Ruhr workers. The Social-Democrat, Hörsing, was even shameless enough to appeal to the French generals for support, on the strange plea for a Social-Democrat that "Bismarck in 1870 had helped to crush the Paris Commune."

Compromise was meanwhile proceeding steadily. The analine dye kings bartered away their industrial secrets to the French. The Klöckners, Thyssens, Otto Wolfs and Stinneses concluded the Micum agreement with the French bourgeoisie, leaving it to the German Social-Democrats and trade union leaders to talk of "love for the Fatherland." The Micum agreement laid definite obligations upon the German bourgeoisie, the fulfilment of which was hindered by the obstinate resistance of the German working class. Once again the Social-Democrats and trade union leaders assumed the task of smashing this resistance. They carried on propaganda among the workers for increase of output, they suggested to the bourgeoisie the abandonment of the eight hour day, and to crown all, voted for the granting of emergency powers in order to permit the bourgeoisie to fulfil its obligations under the Micum agreement.

V.

The adoption of the Emergency Powers Act was another August 4th in the history of the German working class movement. It deprived the German proletariat of its rights completely. The last conquest of the November revolution, the eight hour day, was lost. The Emergency Power Act enabled the Fascist generals to organise a great military campaign against the German proletariat.

Appointed dictator of the Reich by the Social-Democratic president, Ebert, General Seeckt, with the approval of the Social-Democrats, Sollmann and Radbruch, members of the German Government, marched into Saxony, drove out the parliament, and carried on a brutal war against the working class.

Fascist Bavaria was left unmolested. The fight was solely against the working class and was supported by the Social-Democrats and trade union leaders, who from terror in the revolution supported every crime committed by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The revolution, they say, will result in economic disorders, hunger and poverty. They are, therefore, against revolution. They are in favour of capitalist reconstruction; they are fighting for the maintenance of order. The Communists on the other hand desire the very opposite—revolution. The Communists are, therefore, criminals in their eyes, and must be fought by every means in their power.

But every child knows that the capitalist social system which the Social-Democrats wish to reconstruct is an economic system full of self-contradictions. The contradictions cannot be removed or ameliorated; they are constantly recurring, each time with increasing intensity. To retain the system is to retain also the capitalist contradictions and crises, and the whole capitalist social order, since the crises are an inevitable part of the whole. **The Social-Democrats are inconsistent.**

They want the disorders, they want the crises, the sufferings of the proletariat; they want to perpetuate the capitalist social order and to maintain the capitalist dictatorship. To this end they place themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, crushing every movement on the part of

the proletariat and facilitating and supporting **the war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat**. If the bourgeoisie is to-day able to prepare for a new war more terrible than that of 1914 it is the Social-Democrats who are chiefly to blame.

VI.

The imperialist war of 1914 is not yet ended, the international bourgeoisie are already preparing for a new war, a war which will be more awful, in which more modern weapons of slaughter will be employed than in 1914.

The world war of 1914-18 was fought for iron and coal. The new imperialist war will be fought for oil, for the possession of the oil fields of the world.

The formation of the MacDonald Government in England and the Herriot Government in France, enable the Social-Democrats in Germany to intensify their propaganda for a peaceful solution of the crisis.

The German Social-Democrats are preparing for a fresh August 4th. The effects upon the working class are already noticeable.

The Social-Democrats are exerting every endeavour to create a new pacifist illusion in the minds of the German proletariat, so that it may be all the more easily deceived. The bourgeoisie are trying their hardest to find an issue from the crisis. The Experts' Report, purports to be such an issue.

The Versailles Treaty proved to be impossible of fulfilment for Germany, and it has been superseded by the Experts' Report. The Experts' Report is a monstrous plunder campaign on behalf of the international bourgeoisie, and will mean the end of Germany as an independent economic power. Four Entente commissions are to determine what and how much is to be produced in Germany. The German railways are to be denationalised and an international consortium is to acquire the shares. The 25 per cent. reduction of the railway staffs already effected is to be followed by the dismissal of a further 400,000 workers and officials. The imperial railways, thus made "profitable," are to be made to produce 330 million gold marks in the first year, 465 millions in the second year, 550 millions in the third

car, and thereafter 660 millions annually, which are to be employed for the payment of reparations.

This will mean starvation wages and for the workers and peasants a probable 14 or 16 hour day. Dizzying sums are to be squeezed out of the working class population. The German Social-Democrats have promised their support for any government which is prepared to carry out the Experts' Report. They are anxious to find a solution for the crisis of world capitalism, and although they know that the solutions proposed will be at the cost of the proletariat, they are nevertheless giving their theoretical and practical support to the international bourgeoisie.

The German proletariat must not allow itself to be fooled by the pacifist propaganda of the Social-Democrats. Just as Wilson's Fourteen Points were a piece of sheer deceit, just as the proletariat was betrayed by the League of Nations, so will the proletariat be betrayed by MacDonald and Herriot.

The proletariat must oppose the solution now being tempted by the international bourgeoisie. It must realise early that the inevitable results of this solution will be prolonged hours of work, reduced wages, terrible unemployment, the closing down of factories, starvation and enslavement.

The proletariat cannot consent to the crisis of world capitalism being solved at its expense. It must take up the offensive. The economic struggles in Germany are already symptoms of the defensive struggle which is being waged against the carrying out of the Experts' Report. Every struggle in Germany is now assuming political importance. The German workers must be made to realise this clearly.

Economic weapons are inadequate; this has been proved in past fights. The German working class is to-day faced with a different capitalism from that of 1914. Its fighting power in 1919 was dependent upon certain quite definite conditions; to-day this is more the case than ever. We are in the epoch of monopolist capitalism.

In such an epoch, and in view of the fact that the Experts' Report is to be put into effect, to speak of peaceful negotiations, to set hope upon the League of Nations, MacDonald, or the "Left Government" of Herriot is simply suicidal.

The industrial capital of the world has moved to America. The victorious powers are re-grouping themselves in order to meet the economic contradictions embodied in the Peace Treaty. In the epoch of monopolist capitalism, imperialist warfare is the method in which the struggle is carried on. The protagonists are feverishly arming for the fight.

And what of the proletariat?

The proletariat must realise that within capitalism no final solution of the crisis can be found. As long as monopolist capitalism exists there will be imperialist wars. The German proletariat must not and will not allow itself, after the experience of the last ten years, to be driven into another murderous war for the satisfaction of the thirst for profits. There is no other issue for the proletariat except the overthrow of capitalism. In view of the fact that we are on the threshold of a new imperialist war, the slogan of the proletariat must be "Civil War!" There is no alternative.

"Combat or death, bloody struggle or extinction."

It is thus that the question is irresistibly put.

SCHLAFFER.



The French Proletariat & Imperialist War

I.

IN the life of parties, as in the lives of men, there are sad and distressing pages which one would gladly eliminate. The page on which the shameful surrender of French Socialism and Syndicalism to the imperialist war was written is such a one. French Socialism and Syndicalism no doubt were not alone in their surrender without a struggle in the gloomy days of 1914. The Party which uncontestedly occupied the first place in the Second International, the German Social-Democratic Party, was guilty of the same treason when it permitted its 110 deputies in the Reichstag to vote for the war credits. Yet, without trying to find any extenuating circumstances for social-democracy, all its treason was less unexpected and less scandalous than that of the French Socialists and Syndicalists; since social-democracy had not made declarations which amounted to solemn pledges; it had not launched the famous slogan: "Insurrection rather than war!" The French Socialists, however, together with the "revolutionary Syndicalists" had put themselves at the head of the anti-militarist and pacifist movement . . . During the trouble over Morocco, they could see the imminence of war, hence the struggle against militarism became one of their essential tasks. Therefore, they should have given the lead to resistance by street demonstrations, or at least, vigorous action in parliament. Anything might have been expected except what actually happened.

The assassination of Jaurès on the evening of July 31st, eighteen hours before the general mobilisation order was issued, came as a thunderbolt to the Socialist leaders, but did lessen their war enthusiasm? "Oh, if Jaurès were alive on the 4th of August." How many times did we repeat this phrase, and yet we soon dismissed the memory of that

lamentable day. Jaurès was certainly more reformist than revolutionary in politics, but he possessed the strength of invincible steadfastness of principle. For 18 years he fought against the menace of war incessantly and to the very last moment did everything that was politically and humanly possible to banish that dreadful spectre. Those who armed his assassins were quite aware of this, for it was not the mad whim of some semi-idiot which made Jaurès "the first victim of the war." His enemies feared his attitude in the Chamber on the question of war credits; they feared his article attacking Russia and Czarism at which he was then working, and which would probably have been published on the very day when he was assassinated. His death deprived the Socialist Party of its real leader, it left the field free for cowards, for traitors, for fools or knaves, for conscious or unconscious slaves of imperialism. Thus it happened that unanimously and without a single protest, without a word of scorn from the venerable Villant which people expected, the hundred Socialist deputies voted for the war credits as well as the Bonapartist laws which transformed the French Republic into a kingdom under martial law and military censorship.

The holy alliance was sealed. The proletariat was delivered up defenceless by its own leaders, to the Moloch of imperialism; mobilisation was carried out everywhere, even in the proletarian centres, without the slightest resistance. "It will be a short war," was the insinuation of the government agents, while the entire press circulated the insidious legend about "German aggression," to convince the deceived masses that the war was a crusade of justice and right.

In examining the causes which led to the collapse of Socialism and Syndicalism, we must probe well underneath the surface. There is no doubt that the leaders betrayed the cause, but the germ of treason was not so much in them as in the Menshevik ideology of the Second International. The Second International, not daring to carry on the class war to its ultimate consequences, had formally relinquished the principle of national defence, despite the motion made at Stuttgart. The very fact of admitting that the bourgeois Fatherland may *in certain cases* be defended by the working class, and that the class struggle may for the time being be *shifted into the background*, the party becomes exposed to

ll the vacillations and compromises of opportunism. You say that "in certain cases" the bourgeois Fatherland, in other words, the bourgeois State may be defended, under certain circumstances the permanence of the class struggle may be questioned. This lack of firm doctrine, this wavering between the national interests and the interests of the class struggle, hurled the Second International into the abyss.

The surrender of the 4th of August was but the first step. Three weeks later, after the defeat at Charleroi and the rout at Mortange, two Socialist deputies—Jules Guesde, the former doctrinaire anti-internationalist, and Marcel Sembat, the former left-wing Socialist—joined the government of Viviani. The holy alliance was logically transformed into ministerial collaboration. In its manifesto issued towards the end of August, the Socialist Party meekly placed itself at the service of war. The tendency to social-patriotism became an actual fact. A little later, it was to be converted into a principle and a dogma.

Guesde and Vaillant were the definite representatives of revolutionary ideology in the French Socialist Party. They used to cloak their opportunism of action with most vigorous theoretical formulae. The *Jauresists* evidently had no reason to show themselves more revolutionary than the evolutionaries themselves. The Syndicalist champions of anti-patriotism and of "general strike in case of war," executed such a precipitate retreat that they lost all sense of shame. "In the name of those who departed, in the name of those who are going to depart, to whom I belong. . . ." exclaimed Jouhaux on the 4th of August (at the *Jaures* funeral). On the day previous the same Jouhaux scanned the railway time-tables and asked everybody he met whether the Spanish frontier was already guarded. And what happened in the meantime? Will it ever become known that at the Elysée and the Rue de la Grange, a Viviani government was formed with which the General Confederation of Labour surreptitiously negotiated for the abandonment of the general strike and of the insurrection for the abolition of the "B" List (the list of dangerous revolutionaries who were to be arrested in case of mobilisation)? Still Jouhaux, in spite of all his protestations, never went away. Hervé in his part, performed a sensational conversion, and without observing the rules of gradual transition, gave vent to his first manifestations of nationalist hysteria. As to the

anarchists, they cautiously remained silent. Jean Grave suspended his *Temps Nouveaux* (New Times, an anarchist newspaper) on the very first day of the outbreak of the war, and washed his hands of the blood that was being shed; the septogenarian Kropotkin, from his armchair, preached war to the bitter end.

The holy alliance went on apace during these months. All the while the Socialist Party existed only on paper, and three-fourths of its members had been mobilised. But it still continued its old slogans and propaganda. In the *Humanité*, Compere-Morel and the aged Vaillant distinguished themselves by the intemperance of their newborn patriotism. On the other hand, Renaudel did not show his hand, still thinking that the war was going to be a short one he condemned behind the scenes the excessive zeal of his friends. It was only in the spring of 1914, after Italy had joined the war, that Renaudel began to identify himself with the "war to the end" group. In the course of this honeymoon of the holy alliance, the Socialist group in parliament and the officials in the syndicates placed at the service of the government, of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, their knowledge of the moods and psychology of the masses: they did their utmost to prevent any labour conflicts and to nip in the bud any outbursts of discontent, insidiously spreading the impudent fable about the "last war" which was going to stamp out Prussian militarism and to establish a permanent peace.

The Minister of the Interior, Malvy, concentrated on the same task of deception and corruption, by taming the arch-revolutionaries of the General Confederation of Labour with marvellous success. The bourgeoisie disregarded afterwards the eminent services which he had rendered in the hours of trial in 1914-1915, and condemned him to five years banishment: the right hand of the bourgeoisie ignores what its left hand does!

Nevertheless, it was thanks to the ability of Malvy, aided by the advice of Renaudel and Jouhaux that the conscience of the most notorious Syndicalists, was so easily stilled. In the history of the labour movement in France, Malvyism will take its place by the side of Millerandism as one of the most ingenious attempts made by a bourgeois government to

paralyse the movement by getting some well-chosen man entirely under their control.

Malvyism succeeded in converting the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labour into a branch of the Ministry of the Interior and in converting the ex-anarchist Jouhaux into the colleague of Archbishop Amette and a phalanx of academicians, financiers, and bankers on the War Service League (Secours National). This was far removed from the application of the "B" List, and the internment of Jouhaux and his friends in concentration camps! On the eve of the Battle of the Marne, the government did not wish to separate itself from the Labour leaders, and the latter were carried to Bordeaux together with their baggage. I saw with my own eyes the transportation order delivered to Jouhaux by the military authorities at the instigation of Malvy. What a marvellous holy alliance which is not afraid of introducing the wolf into the flock of sheep! But then, it was only a wolf made of cardboard.

II.

The work of deception was carried on steadily and consistently, meeting with no visible signs of resistance. Malvy, having won over the leaders, believed that he had got the masses. This petty bourgeois radical was entirely ignored by the Labour movement; he did not know that its force was hidden and not on the surface. What were the secret thoughts of the masses? Disorganised by the mobilisation, helpless by the treason of their trusted leaders, the masses maintained a sullen silence. But the simple fighting elements were reading and re-reading the Stuttgart motion: "In the case of the outbreak of war, it shall be the duty of Socialist parties to intervene and put a prompt end to the war, while utilising the crisis provoked by the war to hasten the overthrow of capitalist domination." And they asked themselves how the ultra-Chauvinist rhetoric of Compere-Morel, the patriotic outbursts of Vaillant and the voting of war credits could be reconciled with the definite revolutionary decisions adopted at Stuttgart. Of course, there was "German aggression," but the German aggression—no one questioned it—was it not the consequence of the anti-German policy inaugurated by France and England in 1904? Of

course, social democracy turned bankrupt in the Reichstag on the 4th of August, but did the bankruptcy of the one, justify the bankruptcy of the others? Besides, the bankruptcy in the Reichstag and the bankruptcy in the Palais Bourbon took place nearly at the same hour, and they could not explain one another. These were the thoughts which passed through the minds of the rank and file of the Labour movement, and which were intensified by the echo of the distant murmurs which reached their ears from the battle-front.

These people needed time to collect their thoughts and to organise themselves. Their first rallying point was a provincial Socialist newspaper, the *Eclaireur*. The comrades on that paper addressed their doubts and misgivings to Vaillant. Was a just war conceivable under the capitalist regime? Was it permissible, on the pretext of fighting against Prussian militarism, to become the allies of French militarism and of the more abominable Russian militarism, and so on. The veteran Vaillant made a most guarded and vague reply to this letter. On the other hand, the *Eclaireur* received sympathetic letters from certain Parisian militant comrades (Monatte, Dunois) which made it feel that it was not fighting alone. In the *Humanité*, not yet entirely captured by the militarist party, I reprinted the pathetic appeals of Romain Rolland, accompanying them by suitable comments. Little circles of pacifists gathered around each of us.

The admirable stand taken by Karl Liebknecht in the Reichstag (December 2nd) stimulated our efforts. While the social-patriots tried to make capital out of his protest, we took good care to explain that the vigorous protest of Karl Liebknecht was directed not only against German militarism, but against all militarism, all imperialism and all wars. At one time (January-March) we thought ourselves sufficiently strong to plan the publication of a small weekly or fortnightly journal under the title of *L'Internationale*.* A few days after the Liebknecht declaration, Pierre Monatte quitted the Committee of the General Confederation of Labour, slamming the door behind him. The bourgeois Press kept silent about this resignation, as though it understood that a breach was made in the front of the holy alliance.

It is by no means my intention to write the history,

* This newspaper was never published; its promoters were mobilised. It intended to fight for the convocation of the International.

however brief, of the minority movement in France. I am merely tracing a few reminiscences, intending on a future occasion to write more fully and adding documentary evidence. Yet I would like to recall here one incident worthy of particular mention. It relates to the arrival in Paris of our Swiss Comrade Robert Grimm, on the day after the inter-allied Socialist conference of London (in the middle of February). Grimm paid a visit to the Chamber, interviewed a few deputies, and thoroughly disillusioned, he wanted to get into contact with the militant minority. A confidential meeting was held at the offices of *La vie Ouvrière*, which was attended by Grimm, Monatte, Rosmer, Merrheim, Trotsky, a Polish comrade, Martov (if I am not mistaken), and myself. Grimm gave us precise information on the situation in the German Social-Democracy, where three currents were already becoming noticeable. It was agreed to carry on mutual relations between the Swiss and ourselves, and through them to try and get in touch with Liebknecht and his friends. Thus, in February, 1915, the first step was taken in preparation for the Zimmerwald Conference.

Shortly after, in March, an anti-war current arose among the Centrists. The news of a secret treaty just signed, by which, in case of victory, Constantinople was to be given to Russia, caused intense excitement among the Socialist group in Parliament. How could they go on talking about a war of justice? Had it not become quite evident that this so-called war for justice was merely an infamous and hypocritical enterprise for imperialist aggrandisement? The Socialist group held three agitated and turbulent meetings on this question. Sembat pitifully pleaded extenuating circumstances, alleging that it had been impossible to resist the insistent demands of the Czarist government. Nearly all those who opposed the treaty went over to the minority. I say "nearly" because Renaudel was among the opponents of the treaty, nevertheless he soon became the leader of the majority. But at that time he still hesitated as to what course he should take. One evening he said to me, quite discouraged and in a manner quite unusual for him: "This war is not what we expected it to be And I wonder if we shall not have to withdraw our ministers after all." A month or two later, there were three Socialist ministers instead of two, and Renaudel became one of the most ardent ministerialists.

The principal spokesmen of the Centrist opposition from that time on were : Jean Longuet, Parliamentary deputy for the Paris district, the deputies of Haute-Vienne (Presseman, etc.), and of the Isere (Raffin-d'Ugens and Mistral). They acquired a daily newspaper, *Populaire du Centre*, published at Limoges, and edited by Paul Faure. In May, 1915, the Socialists of Haute-Vienne, disregarding the leadership of the Party, addressed a circular to the federations, which created a big stir. In this letter, while recognising the principle of national defence, they asked for the intervention of the International, to bring about a *just and speedy* peace. The Longuetist opposition did not go so far as that : to the very end it kept on balancing between its dogmatic devotion to national defence and its sincere aspiration for peace ; the more that it went on voting the war credits, the more it pharisaically expected the end of the butchery. In May, 1916, it started the *Populaire*, which appeared weekly until the time when it was transformed by Jean Longuet into a daily evening paper.

The Centrists constituted themselves into the **Committee for the Defence of International Socialism**. Their number increased day by day, and it is evident that only the manœuvres of the *fight to a finish* clique prevented them from capturing the whole leadership of the Party. They did not officially fight the majority until the eve of the Armistice. But in May, 1917, they scored a big—though short-lived—victory in getting the National Council to vote in favour of the Party adhering to the International Conference of Stockholm.

Side by side with the Committee for the Defence of International Socialism, the pacifists of the left (Merrheim, Rosmer, Loriot, etc.), formed their own organisation, the **Committee for the Renewal of International Relations**. At first it was not easy to distinguish between the two committees. The first group united chiefly moderates, the hesitators and the temporisers ; the second one—in which Trotsky exercised a strong influence—represented the uncompromising Socialists, the revolutionaries, all those who could not see how people could call themselves pacifists whilst voting the credits for war. The two groups worked apart from each other, without any mutual interference. The Longuet group ran the *Populaire*, the Merrheim, Rosmer and Loriot group, having no newspaper of its own, published

propaganda pamphlets in which the ideas of Zimmerwald were expressed. The Kienthal Conference in the following year was attended by three Socialist deputies from France : Blanc, Raffin-Dugens and Brizon. Henri Guilbeaux, having established himself at Geneva, started the publication of a review *Demain* (To-morrow), and a few copies of that review managed to find their way clandestinely across the frontier. Under the influence of Lenin, Guilbeaux soon became a "Zimmerwaldian" and even a "Zimmerwaldian of the Left." In France there were rather Zimmerwaldians of the Right, such as Merrheim and Boudron, and in a certain degree also the three Kienthal deputies already referred to. Whilst Rosmer and Loriot inclined towards the Left.

Towards the end of 1916, after two years of war, pacifist propaganda had made such progress in France that in the Socialist party the advocates and the opponents of the policy of the 4th of August became about evenly divided. **The fight to a finish** advocates were losing ground day by day, but they tried to conceal this by resorting to foul intrigue and malicious calumny: the rupture between them and us was now complete. They accused us of defeatism and pro-Germanism; they charged us with "playing the hypocrite towards the warriors at the front," and they even hinted that we could be manœuvred by Germany. The Socialist Party, not daring to expel Boudron for his attendance at Zimmerwald, condemned that conference in public; the movement had already become too strong for the social-patriots to oppose it openly. Besides, towards the spring of 1917 a new factor appeared on the horizon : **the proletariat itself**. The protraction of the war, the revolver-shot of Fritz Adler, the first messages of Wilson, with their concealed imperialist notives, and above all, the Russian Revolution had aroused dormant energies and revived languid hopes. The pacifist movement, hitherto confined to a few circles, began to spread to the masses.

In May, 1917, women's strikes broke out in Paris. The Government tried to settle things by compelling the employers to yield. But the workers' movement, held in check for a long time, was everywhere breaking through all barriers. The cost of living increased, the workers, who had been mobilised in the factories, were agitating and clamouring for better conditions, and all above all, for an end to the war. Albert Thomas, by creating his shop delegates, expected to do away with trade unionism, and proceeded in a

less bureaucratic and more lively manner than the trade unions, working inside the factories and workshops. In spite of all interference by the military authorities, the delegates on the whole proved themselves faithful to their mandates. Towards the end of 1917, in the district of Lyons, the despatch of a delegate, named Andrieux, to the front, caused a strike which did not terminate until Andrieux was brought back to his place. The whole of the first half of 1918 was marked by strikes which were put down in one place only to break out in another; such were the strikes in the districts of Laon, Loire, Bourges, Paris and so on. The government, having failed by kind methods, resorted to force, backed by a servile Press which was raving about high treason. The movement did not abate entirely until the very moment of the Armistice. Needless to say that the old General Confederation of Labour did not support these mass strikes; if it did depart for a moment from its lethargic state, it was to declare its solidarity with Malvy, who was the tool of Clemenceau.

The trade union minority, like the Socialist minority, was increasing in numbers. In May, 1918, a congress of the trade union minority was held at St. Etienne; Merrheim, absented himself as a preliminary to his final treason.

The congress was led by G. Dumoulin, who was at the time a whole-hearted "revolutionary," no one suspecting that in him there were already the makings of a traitor. The Congress demanded the publication of the war aims, followed by a resolution for an armistice and just to test the strength of the movement, a general strike was proclaimed.

The leaders of the movement—except Dumoulin—were immediately arrested, with Herclet and Richetta at the top of the list. Then only did the old G.C.T. think it fit to convene a congress of the Confederation, the first one in seven years. The congress was held in October. After a few days of heated debates it terminated to everybody's surprise in a reconciliation between the majority and minority and in Dumoulin becoming a member of the Bureau of the G.C.T.

At the same time the majority Socialists were defeated by the coalition of the Longuetists and Zimmerwaldians. The Longuetists took over the conduct of the party and of

the *Humanité* One month later, the bells of the armistice were heard.

The events which followed do not exactly belong to our present subject. But our study would be too incomplete if we did not enquire into post-armistice happenings. The forces set in motion by the imperialist war did not stop immediately with the war. The crisis, which had been started in the French proletariat by the social-traitors, remained unsolved even after the boycottists had taken command of the Socialist Party and after Merrheim and Dumoulin in the G.C.T., under the pretext of unity, had made common cause with Jouhaux. The only way to solve the crisis was by a total revision of the principles and methods used during the war, and by definite abandonment of the policy of opportunist concessions which had resulted in the fiasco of 1914.

In reality the struggle in the Party and in the G.C.T. was carried on under new slogans. The Centrists in the Party did not aspire to more than reconstruction of the International as it had been before the war, or something like it; the Zimmerwaldians insisted on immediate adherence to the Third International, which had just been formed at Moscow, under the banner of the October Revolution. This conflict ended after two years (December, 1920) in the victory of the Zimmerwaldians, who were reinforced by half of the Centrists while the other half of the Centrists went over to the right wing. By joining the Third International, the Party of Jaurès, Guesde and Vaillant showed that at last it understood the chief lesson of the war; that opportunism must always end in treason, and that in order to prevent the possibility of treason, a determined fight must be waged against all forms of opportunism.

In the field of trade unionism, the struggle between the revolutionary advocates of adherence to the R.I.L.U. and the reformist partisans of the Amsterdam International would have also ended in a victory for the revolutionary elements, and in a retirement of the treacherous and crafty leaders, if the revolutionaries, exasperated by the expulsion policy of the reformists, had not resolved to quit the old G.C.T., and to form their own revolutionary organisation of trade unions, the Unity G.C.T., which adopted a programme of class

struggle without compromise. The U.G.C.T., by the amendments which it introduced into the famous motion of Amiens (which put the unions in opposition to parties and sects)* and by its agreement with the Communist Party, had brought back the trade union movement to its revolutionary basis. The U.G.C.T. took cognisance of the fact that the Party and the trade unions, different organs of the working class, but complimentary to each other, cannot ignore each other without danger to the common cause, and that the old formula—trade unionism must be independent of politics which might have had some justification in the past, has to-day become distinctly counter-revolutionary.

III.

I said in the beginning of this article that the surrender on the 4th of August was one of the pages of history which one would like to be able to destroy. In saying this, I gave way to a sentimental point of view. From the viewpoint of practical politics, history is the sum total of all the component parts. Not a single leaf of the great book can be destroyed, not a single line can be deleted, everything written thereon must be left intact.

Rather than tear out the shameful pages of a historic past, let us read and re-read them, let us ponder over them and seek to derive profit from them.

The crisis which occurred both in the majority of the parties of the Second International and in the trade union organisations was a salutary one. It brought to the surface the bad ulcers from which the organism was secretly suffering. It removed not only the men, but what is more important, the methods that were the root cause of the disease. It thus paved the way for the creation of a select, disciplined and seasoned political party, of a revolutionary party of the masses, hard and supple like steel.

Lenin had grasped the fact at once that the great treason on the 4th August, 1914, far from being an exception or an

* The Amiens resolution had meant this opposition in the revolutionary sense, whilst the promoters of the resolution interpreted it in the shallow reformist sense.

accidental phenomenon, was indeed the fatal consequence of the opportunist tactics of the Second International, the last link in the long chain of theoretical compromises and deviations. He, therefore, promptly denounced as sheer delusion the Centrist slogan, resurrection of the International. What did it mean to revive the Second International? It meant to revive the pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and the deceptive rhetoric with which it used to cloak its opportunist deeds. In opposition to the slogan of resurrection (which accomplished, during the war, nothing but the pitiful negotiations at Stockholm), Lenin advanced the slogan of creating a *new* International, free from the maze of petty-bourgeois democracy and the will 'o the wisp of maudlin pacifism. This Third International was not created before March, 1919, but it already had its origin in what was known as the "left wing of Zimmerwald," which was in itself a reproduction of Bolshevism on a large international scale.

It had always been asserted—in France it constituted one of the familiar themes of Guesde—that the revolution, like Minerva out of Jupiter's head, would emerge fully armed, out of a European war. That it should emerge out of the war, it is necessary first of all to put it there; this necessitated the existence everywhere of parties which were revolutionary both in ideology and practice, of class parties which were organised for the express purpose of fighting against the bourgeoisie, of parties which probably existed nowhere except in Russia. On the 4th of August, instead of parties of civil war and armed insurrection, there were only parties of the holy alliance which had been committed through their long opportunist practices, to play the role of the left-wing of the bourgeoisie. The revolution did not "emerge out of the war"; except in the vanquished countries, and wherever it did emerge—except in Russia, where Bolshevik energy maintained it by the force of the dictatorship—it was finally crushed. In the victorious countries, it was the capitalist and bourgeois reaction, sometimes under the form of Fascism which emerged from the war, and this was due to the lack of revolutionary parties, both ideologically and politically, capable of controlling the situation like Bolshevism did in Russia.

But if, owing to the lack of solid revolutionary parties, the war did not everywhere "hasten the overthrow of capitalist domination," in accordance with the well-known slogan of international congresses, it did bring about in all countries

the formation of these definite revolutionary parties, which have been so strongly felt since 1914.

The Communist International was born out of the necessity to put an end to opportunism, the cause of treason, and to lead the masses away from democratic illusions into the relentless fight against bourgeois dictatorship under whichever guise it might appear. The Communist International is the legitimate child of the Bolshevik party which had always been the irreconcilable enemy of all avowed or veiled opportunism. In comparison with the Hamburg International, always ready to return to its effusion of the 4th of August, the Communist International now represents the grand army of the workers who have understood that capitalism will yield to nothing but force, and that in the historic period of imperialism and war through which we are passing, the historic mission of Communism is to organise methodically the violent opposition of the masses. No more alliances with the bourgeoisie, no more adulterous compromises with bourgeois ideology, no more collaboration even as between class and class, these are the definite tactics of the Communist International.

The Second International admitted the possibility of an understanding with the bourgeoisie under exceptional circumstances; the war was one of these circumstances. The Communist rejects all possibility of this kind, and regards war as only another reason for a more determined fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. It declares openly that it will endeavour at all costs to transform the imperialist war into civil war, in conformity with the slogan given by Lenin.

When France invaded the Ruhr last year, the Communist International had the opportunity of passing from slogans to acts. It worked to bring about the union of the workers of France and Germany "against Kuno and Poincaré"; it called upon the French soldiers and the workers of the Ruhr to fraternise with each other: the severe penalties imposed recently at Mayence on a score of soldiers and workers proves that the instructions of the International have not remained a dead letter. Ever since the French occupation of the Ruhr, not for a single moment was the contact lost, and the united front broken between the workers of the two hostile countries. What happened in the Ruhr serves as a miniature indication of what the action of the Communist International would be in case of a world war.

The surrender on the 4th of August, 1914, had its irreparable consequences, and as Zinoviev said at the opening session of the Fifth World Congress, "we shall never forgive the social-democracy the 10 million dead, the 13 million mutilated and the 20 million wounded of the world war." But in spite of the blackness of the crime, it has not been entirely useless. The international proletariat no doubt needed this appalling experience to rid itself of the democratic and national illusions which befogged its intelligence, and overshadowed its clear revolutionary class duty. Thanks to the Communist International, the crime of 1914 shall not be committed for a second time.

AMEDEE DUNOIS.



The Old Austrian Social-Patriotism

THE Communist Party of Czecho-Slovak has a twofold origin; it arose from the opposition of the old Austrian German and Czech Social-Democratic Parties. Even before the outbreak of the war, Austrian "international" social-democracy was split up into national sections (Polish, Czechish, German, etc.). The leadership of all these sections lay in the hands of well-known opportunists: Daszinsky was the leader of the Polish, Dr. Adler of the German, Anton Nemetz of the Czech, Buchinger and Kunfy of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Parties. The weak left-wing of the German Social-Democratic Party paid great attention to the big struggle waged between the Revisionists and Radicals within the German Socialist Party. It is well-known that the Revisionists were attacked at every conference of the German Socialist Party, a fact which we of the left-wing were very glad to observe. At that time we did not fully realise that Revisionism, though always theoretically beaten, in practice held the reins and had imprinted its mark on the Party. The Radicals carried off the greatest laurels at the Magdeburg Conference, at which August Bebel got even with the South Germans, who voted for the Budget. Besides it appeared, that as a result of the political antagonism in Europe, the radical wing of the workers' movement would probably gain the upper hand. This was especially the case when as a result of the disturbances in the Balkans, the outbreak of the world war seemed unavoidable in 1912. The international conference in Basle made a very powerful impression on the workers of all countries; its resolution against the war-mongers was accepted by all class conscious workers as being absolutely serious. The clauses which said that the Second International would be ready the moment the rulers attempted to begin war, to rouse the working masses to revolt and to lead them on against the exploiters, were particularly received with the greatest enthusiasm.

The catastrophe of the 4th of August, (27th of July), 1914 was immense. The Austrian social patriots were lucky not to have to show themselves in their true colours at once. Count Stürkh, the Austrian Prime Minister, had broken up parliament in good time, and had avoided having any consultations whatsoever with the representatives of the people. He knew the revolutionary international Social-Democrats much better than we did, he knew that they were capable of being imposed on in any manner he thought fit. The Austrian Social-Democrats were not obliged to take part in the voting on the Budget question.

On the 4th of August, we were very eagerly awaiting the results of the German Reichstag meeting. When the report arrived that the Social-Democrats had decided to vote for the war credits, we regarded it as a kind of war canard, and made fun of the idiotic war journalists. Our triumph was short-lived. We were obliged to acknowledge that the German faction had agreed to the vote on the war credits and that there was not even a single member who had had the courage to make a protest against this unparalleled treachery. A few weeks previously, we had held consultations with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg about meetings which were to be held in German Bohemia. We were full of enthusiasm at the Radical outlook of these and other members of the left-wing of the German social-democracy; this only increased our disappointment at the news about the vote. The central organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, took sides with the faction in the German Reichstag in the article, since become so famous, entitled, "The Day of the German Nation," in which it agreed enthusiastically with the German Social-Democratic Party.

Every action taken by the Austrian Government showed that they knew not only to despise the leaders of the Socialist Party, but also how to make use of them, and that they were very well posted about the position of the working class movement, and also that of the Socialist Party. While the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* became the echo of the poor Austrian Government, which was forced into the war against its will, the *Reichenberger Vorwärts*, which had published a determined protest against the war-mongers and had taken up a definite attitude against war was banned by Count Stürkh.

Social-patriotism was legalised, its papers were sure of the protection of the authorities. All the measures it took against left-wing groups of the workers, were directly and indirectly supported by State authority, in a word, the power of the social-traitors increased from day to day, whilst every act of opposition of the left-wing of the Labour movement, and at every attempt to take up a stand against the war policy, were mercilessly suppressed. Subsequently the *Reichenberger Vorwärts* was transformed into the so-called *Arbendpost* which was in reality nothing less than an organ of the war-mongers of the ruling classes in Austria. The Austrian working class movement received blow after blow in quick succession. The Party and trade union leaders served the ruling classes and Austrian absolutism in every possible way; it placed the whole apparatus of the Party, of the trade unions at the service of the Government. The Government was well able to use the powerful moral influence of the leaders. Victor Adler was responsible for the opinion that a party of the workers who went to the trenches must give the necessary moral support. "If war has already broken out, then the workers are obliged to protect the frontiers of the fatherland in their own interests, when the houses in which the workers are living is in danger of being burnt down, there is no sense in talking about class differences, we must all work together, and for this purpose we must make peace amongst ourselves so as to be able to secure the necessary measures for our physical existence." In this way or somewhat in similar manner the social-patriotic bandits in all capitalist states express themselves. The Social-Democratic leaders tried to make the workers believe that it was not in accordance with the theory of Marx to protect the *status quo*, a Marxist must understand better than anybody else that the frontiers are not permanent and hence annexations are not to be opposed on principle. It was with such miserable sophisms that the social-patriots protected the war aims of their Governments, supported with almost a spirit of religious sacrifice every policy of the oppressors, who sent increasing numbers of workers into the trenches. The Marxist State theory was at that time "enlarged." Dr. Karl Renner in conjunction with Friederich Neumann, produced a new State theory, he agitated for the creation of the new middle European State, which must come as the result of a revolution from above. Only radical sophists could overlook the fact that the revolution from below was now impossible since the cannons had taken away those who could make it.

After the outbreak of the war, it cannot be denied that the majority of the masses were against us. The social-patriots had enormous influence. The so-called Marxist centre capitulated entirely, not only before the great spirit of revisionism, but even before the barren social-patriotism and mediocrity under the leadership of Ebert in Germany, Forster, Sever, etc., in Austria. War Communism was regarded as a necessary first step to Socialism, victorious Central Europe was a decisive and most favourable forerunner for a new revival of the European working class. Even if such a victory could only be possible at the expense of the conquered peoples of other States, still one must think that the power of European Socialism would be sufficient together with the exploited of the conquered States to smash the capitalist yoke. Now we laugh about these fundamental theories of organised social treachery, one can hardly imagine that any workers during the early days of the war could listen to such opinions. But now we know that everywhere this was the case, and we must confess that social-patriotism had the easiest task in Austria in its work of betraying and selling the working masses.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the opposition of the Austrian Socialist Party strengthened its position in many parts of the country; for example, in Northern Bohemia (the territory of Reichenberg) it was able to regain its old position completely. At the first national conference in Vienna, which was attended by several hundred delegates, the members of the opposition could be counted on the fingers of two hands. Eight or nine delegates, amongst them Fritz Adler, took a stand against the official policy of the Party. The methods of attack of the majority of the Austrian Party, under the leadership of Victor Adler, were both childish and contemptible. They tried to make little of the opposition in the eyes of the workers by ridiculing their then leader, Fritz Adler. His remarks were not taken seriously, and the position which he took up was attributed to dishonest motives. The opposition in the provinces had a more favourable position, especially in North Bohemia. A few months after the outbreak of the war, a sectional conference was held in Reichenberg, which took up a position as regards the leadership of the Party. Fifty per cent. of the delegates declared in favour of the opposition, which had condemned the war policy of the Party in a most violent manner. The President of the Party sent as representatives to this conference

the old politician, Seitz, also the well-tried Party member, Adelheid Popp, who even after the failure of the war continued to be a passionate Social-Democratic nationalist.

During the first two years of the war, the position of the social-patriots became much stronger in the Empire. The opposition, however, also organised itself throughout the Empire; it had its actual centre not in Vienna, but in Reichenberg. The comrades at Reichenberg founded a club (every legal activity of the opposition was impossible), which became known to a large circle of comrades under the name of "The Plotters' Club." This club kept up connection with the opposition and unfortunately only very indifferent connection with the opposition in Germany. This organisation accomplished wonderful things in the old Austrian Party, one can even say, that without this Reichenberg organisation, the systematic and successful organisation of the opposition would have been impossible.

The famous shot fired by Fritz Adler at the end of 1916, brought a fresh breath of air into the stuffy atmosphere of Austrian absolutism. A powerful movement began among the whole mass of the starving Austrian proletariat. The Austrian Socialist Party for a second time showed itself as the social force ready to put all the means at its disposal in the hands of ruling classes to protect and to maintain order. A thing that no party of the working class movement expected was the way the official leaders of the party deserted Fritz Adler. The central organ of the Party the *Arbiterzeitung* doubted whether Fritz Adler was a hopeless fool or a completely eccentric idealist. Others spoke in a more open, clear and brutal manner. They tried to explain the act of Fritz Adler as a sore on the healthy social-patriotic body of the Party. Fritz Adler on his part, was disgusted by the meanness of the Social-Democratic policy, especially by the policy of Seitz, Dr. Renner, Leuthner amongst other passionate social traitors. Fritz Adler's trial was to a certain extent a still greater sensation than his shot at Stürkh. Fritz Adler exposed the rottenness not only of the Austrian section, but also of the entire Second International. With a shudder the broad masses of the people recognised the under-currents within the Social-Democratic movement. It is a fact, that the authorities did their best to prevent a complete exposure of the Social-Democratic war policy. The reports of the trial were strictly censored, but even that which

was published sufficed to enlighten a large party of the masses about the official policy of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. As already remarked, Adler's action had a very rousing influence, not only on a large part of the Austrian, but also on the international proletariat. It became clear that the Austrian Government at that time was already very insecure, it must loosen the chains in which it had put the whole working population of Austria. Parliament was summoned, and it became clear that the events of the last two years had taught the counter-revolution very much, but the Social-Democratic party leaders had learnt nothing, and forgotten nothing.

The Russian March Revolution brought about a fresh revival of the Labour movement. But that did not last very long. When it became clear that Kerensky represented no power, which could serve in the struggle against international imperialism, the Austrian Government again had an easy task. Germany and Austria armed for a new offensive to bring about "final victory." The misery of the masses of the working population increased to an insupportable degree; but the Government was not to be held back from making preparations, and side by side with it worked the leadership of the Austrian Social-Democracy. The Party sent its representative to every institution of war Socialism. In practical daily work and in a thousand important positions, it was the most successful and necessary assistant of the Hapsburg Government. Whenever there were demonstrations of starving women, you were sure to find Social-Democratic representatives, capable of holding back and suppressing any critical movement. It was quite clear that the Hapsburg Government would only remain faithful to the agreement with the Hohenzollerns because it had the whole apparatus of the Socialist Party at its disposal, and because the overwhelming majority of the leaders of this party, had thrown themselves into the service of the war-mongers. The Government was obliged enormously to increase its pressure on the masses of the people. All the sophisms of the Austro-Marxists were of no avail any longer. The discontent of the working masses grew from day to day in the most important industrial centres of the monarchy. It was not only directed against the Hapsburg regime, but also with equal hatred against the blackguardly leadership of the social-patriots who had done so much to increase the power of resistance of the ruling classes of old Austria. In August, 1917, the opposi-

tion in Northern Bohemia increased its influence to such an extent, that it regained the control of the *Abendpost*. Meanwhile the *Abendpost* changed its name to the *Tagespost*.

From this time onwards to the end of the war, this daily paper was to act as the only German daily paper in the Austrian monarchy to carry on an open struggle against the war policy of the Government, and against the social-patriotism of the Party. The foundation of the Austrian State had already begun to crumble. The practice of confiscation could not be applied with the same severity as formerly. Hunger demonstrations were and remained the order of the day. The *Tagespost*, under Social-Democratic leadership had acted as official war organ, as soon as we got the paper in our hands, we changed its character immediately and completely. The working masses breathed freely again. As we worked under the censorship the paper appeared daily with large white spaces, but it appeared and the numerous censored parts produced an even greater effect. Amongst the contributors to the Reichenberg provincial paper at that time, were the best theoreticians of the International. The articles and theses written by Comrades Lenin, Zinoviev and Radek which were so difficult to obtain at that time, were to a certain extent published in the *Tagespost* and discussed in the "Plotters' Club" as well as it was possible. Other contributors to the Reichenberger *Tagespost* included the best brains of the Vienna opposition of the Socialist Party, who have since regretted their youthful follies and in all humility subjected themselves again to the patriotic leadership of the Party.

In the autumn of 1917, at the national conference in Vienna, the opposition had already increased to twenty. Fritz Adler, who had been condemned to death, was in prison; but the opposition had a new leader in Otto Bauer, the theoretician in the Austrian Party. Otto Bauer had returned a few months after the March Revolution as a war prisoner from Russia. The official party leaders had already heard rumours that Otto Bauer intended to join the opposition openly. The Party Presidium was very excited at that time and lost its head, so to speak. At the Party Conference in 1917, until the breakdown of the war, Otto Bauer continued to be the leader of the opposition. To-day we are in a better

position to judge the role that Otto Bauer played at that time. Otto Bauer's policy objectively was to rescue the Socialist Party—that is to say, Otto Bauer was responsible for handing back the Party as a whole into the safe hands of the social patriots. When Otto Bauer returned from Russia, the actual leaders (Victor Adler was almost continuously ill) were about to use their whole strength to direct the Party in the lines dictated by the Hapsburgs. That is to say, the policy of Seitz, Renner, Victor Adler, etc., would have led it in 1918 to the delivery of the suppressed majority of the Austrian workers under the leadership of the social-patriotic lackeys. Otto Bauer prevented the social-patriots, Renner and Co., from committing this great act of stupidity. He placed himself at the head of the opposition so as to be able to hold back the destructive power of the social-patriotic presidium, and on the other hand, to prevent the radicals in the opposition from rescuing the workers at an opportune moment from the leadership of the social-patriotic blackguards. In reality, Otto Bauer was of the greatest service to the leaders of the social-patriots, who have to this very day held back the proletariat from any kind of revolutionary action. At a most opportune moment, Otto Bauer left the opposition and took his position with both feet on the ground of the Austrian social-patriots.

In this connection, we must recall the strike in January of 1918. During this struggle, Otto Bauer did not distinguish himself in any special manner. The excitement of the Vienna workers was extreme. Otto Bauer did not support the revolutionary movement in January, 1918, to any extent, on the contrary, his influence was used to prevent the masses from continuing the struggle. It is quite certain that had it not been for Otto Bauer, no other member of the Party Presidium would have had the power to "pacify" the striking workers. Otto Bauer possessed this power because of his attitude to the opposition. Thus, Otto Bauer used his position only in the interests of social-patriots. The social-patriots themselves were finished in the eyes of all the revolutionary elements; they were not able to undertake anything against the will of the revolutionary workers. But Otto Bauer, was regarded as radical, he was the leader of the opposition which had fought against the Party Presidium. The moral and political credit of the opposition had greatly increased during those days in January, whilst the Party Presidium had completely lost caste. One can, therefore, see

that Otto Bauer by placing himself at the head of the opposition, actually served social-patriotism rather than the revolutionary workers. Our mistake was that we were not able to see this game and could not stop it in time.

After the suppression of the January strike, the Central Powers got together their forces to pump the last energies of the millions of their exploited masses, and transferred all the troops that could be spared from the East front to the French theatre of war. The situation did not appear so terribly unfavourable for the unflinching Siegfried. After the October Revolution, Russia no longer counted as a supporter of Entente imperialism. The Russian Revolution not only promised peace to the peasantry, but actually brought it about. This fact constituted a temporary strengthening of the Central Powers. In addition to this, the Austro-German negotiators in Brest-Litovsk, behind the backs of Soviet Russian delegation, concluded a separate peace treaty with the fictitious Ukrainian Government. When the news came of the Ukrainian "bread peace," the Reichenberg *Tagespost* was the only paper in all Austria which at once pointed out the counter-revolutionary character of this treaty of peace. This upset the hornet's nest. The leaders of the majority policy of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party pounced like lunatics on the editors of the North Bohemian paper. We quite clearly remember the arguments which were then hurled on us. "The Ukraine 'Bread Peace' we know is not a general peace, but is the first step to it, and above all it brings Ukrainian corn to the starving masses." The social-patriots appealed to the starving women, who were obliged to stand in queues from morning to night for a piece of bread. However, we persisted. Every day we wrote against the Ukrainian "bread peace," and showed that this agreement was only meant to increase the power of the Central Powers, so as to enable them to increase the blood-bath in the West, and that above all, this peace agreement was one of the most important forerunners of the overthrow of the Russian Bolshevik revolution. As things happened, events soon proved this. After a very short time it was quite clear that the German-Austrian military were not able to get corn in the Ukraine, but blows. Still, the Ukraine peace treaty served the purposes of the Austrian Social-Democrats, who used it to prop up the already decayed and crumbling Hapsburger regime. The well-known events in 1918 moved with tremendous rapidity.

in the same degree in which the retreat of the German army took place in the West, our propaganda developed. Already in August, we ignored the Austrian censorship. The "Plotter's Club" ceased its illegal activity and sent its members into public meetings; at the end of September, we went to Vienna to the Austrian Conference. The conference met only to break up again. The Czechish nationalist revolutionary movement saw in these events its opportunity and gave the first blow to the unity of the Austrian dual monarchy. The Vienna conference was informed that the leader of the opposition, Otto Bauer, in agreement with the social-patriots, Renner and Company had declared his readiness to enter the bourgeois government coalition. The role of opponent which Otto Bauer had played for a few months for the benefit of Austrian opportunism, was at an end. In September, 1918, he quite officially completed the union with the social-patriots; he opposed them as we have already pointed out for a time, but finally he capitulated. The same applies to Fritz Adler, who was regarded not only by the Austrian revolutionary workers but also by the revolutionary masses of all countries as a brave revolutionary. It was to become evident that Adler not only shot at Count Stürkh, but killed his own radicalism.

When the democratic revolution released him from prison—after some hesitation—he decided to make his peace with those leaders whom he so despised; Dr. Renner, Leuthner, etc., and to accept the principles of social-patriotism.

We continued to organise the opposition. In the Czech Socialist Party, the Brünn paper *Die Rownost* had taken up the struggle against social-patriotism and against the war policy of the Social-Democratic majority. After the events of October, the *Tagespost* of Reichenberg again became the "voraus", which had honourably fallen in 1914, because of its attack against the war-mongers. A short time afterwards, at a sectional conference, the power was taken out of the hands of the social-patriots; still we remained in the Party. After the downfall of the old Austria, the Austrian Social-Democratic Party sprang up again in Czecho-Slovakia. And just as Czecho-Slovakia is nothing but a bad reflection of the Austrian monarchy, so too the Austrian Social-Democratic Party is a caricature of the old Austrian Party. After the

conference as Carlsbad (Spring, 1921) the split in the German Party was complete: the left section of the Czech Socialist Party having made itself independent a few months previously. After the Third World Congress of the Communist International, in October, 1920, these two groups joined and became the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, which is today the only revolutionary mass party in the State.

ALOIS NEURATH.



The European War and the Labour Movement in the Balkans

1. The Balkan War.

IN the Balkans the European war was preceded by two other Balkan wars—(1) Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece against Turkey; (2) Serbia, Greece and Roumania—against Bulgaria. On the initiative and under the protection of Czarist Russia, which at that time played the role of the direct executor of the annexationist policy of the Entente with regard to the Balkan Peninsula, the so-called Balkan Union was formed in 1912. It consisted of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. This purely military union, based on a special agreement between three Balkan States concerning the partition of the then Turkish provinces in the Balkans, and especially of Macedonia was directed, of course, against Turkey. At that time Turkey was literally in the hands of German imperialism which extended its influence and built up its basis in Asia Minor at the expense of Great Britain and France, thereby imperilling the interests of the latter in the Near East.

It was in the interests of the Entente to weaken Turkey and to use the Balkan States as a barrier against German and Austro-Hungaria penetration into the Balkans and still further into Asia Minor. This was essential from the viewpoint of preparation for the impending European war. The Entente very cleverly exploited the annexationist aspirations of the dynasties and bourgeois classes of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece in respect of Balkan territories which were then under Turkish domination—Macedonia, Thrace and the territory of Adrianople, so as to entangle the Balkan States in a war against Turkey.

The masses in Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece were told by the ruling classes that this war was inevitable for the liberation of the populations of Macedonia, Thrace and of

the territory of Adrianople, which had been groaning for centuries under the yoke of Turkey, and for the national class population of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greek peoples. One must admit that a considerable section even of the working class population of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece allowed itself to be deceived. Influenced by strong nationalist feelings, they became imbued with the idea that the Balkan Union was being established for the liberation of their "enslaved brothers," and for the national unification of the scattered peoples. Therefore, they greeted enthusiastically the declaration of the first Balkan war in September, 1912. The oppressed population of Macedonia, Thrace and the Adrianople region, which was under the yoke of Turkish land-owners, also believed, and even more fervently than the other nationalities, that the time had come at last for their liberation and for the establishment of their national and political independence.

This circumstance played a very important part in the first Balkan war. The Turkish army was defeated in a few rapid encounters and compelled to retreat towards Chadalkja, the vicinity of the gates of Constantinople. After this catastrophic defeat, Turkey proposed to make peace, ceding Macedonia, Thrace and the district of Adrianople.

However, the great victory of the **Allies** (Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece) became the signal for the disingestion of the predatory "Balkan Union." The **Allies** who had defeated Turkey and had occupied the Balkan provinces, immediately quarrelled among themselves over the annexed territories which had not been divided, and especially Macedonia. This conflict developed into the second Balkan war—between Bulgaria on the one side, and Serbia and Greece on the other side. Roumania took advantage of this new situation and intervened in the war against Bulgaria, in order to add the Bulgarian section to the Rumanian section of the Dobrudja. Without a single encounter, the Rumanian army marched unmolested to the very walls of Sofia—the capital of Bulgaria. The Entente, and mainly Czarist Russia, took the part of Serbia, Greece and Rumania against Bulgaria, thereby securing for themselves the domination over the Balkans, so necessary to them in the event of the pending European war.

This second Balkan war ended for Bulgaria in a crushing defeat. With the exception of a small part of Mace-

nia, which remained under Bulgarian rule, that country was divided between Serbia and Greece. A considerable portion of Thrace was seized by Greece, while Rumania annexed the Bulgarian Dobrudja.

Instead of the much vaunted liberation of the oppressed nationalities and of national unification of the divided peoples, the Balkan wars resulted in a still greater national separatism, and in a more cruel national slavery than before. The national contradictions, which existed before these wars, became more acute and more complicated. The chasm between Bulgaria and Turkey on the one hand, and Serbia, Greece and Rumania on the other hand was widened, and the antagonism between these countries reached unprecedented proportions. When Serbia, Greece and Rumania became the tools of the Entente, Bulgaria and Turkey were already the tools at the mercy of German imperialism. In this way the Balkan States were allotted the role of vassals of these two imperialist groups in the coming European war.

2. The Balkans in the European War.

Exactly twelve months after the end of the second Balkan war, the European war broke out in July, 1914. The deep wounds inflicted by the two Balkan wars had not had time to heal, and the consequences of the terrible devastation brought by these wars had not yet been liquidated when the Balkan peoples were confronted with the terrible fate of being drawn into the general European war. Both belligerent imperialist groups did their utmost—from promises of territorial aggrandisement to the bribery of dynasties and statesmen, as well as of entire parties and of the Press—to win support of the Balkan States, in order to be able to use the Balkans as a base for the European war.

However, the situation created by the Balkan wars in the Balkans, had already pre-ordained the participation of the Balkan States in the war either on the side of the Entente, or on the side of the Central European Powers, so that it ended entirely on the development of the great European war when these States would become active participants in it.

Serbia was under the direct influence of Czarist Russia and France, and was bound to become the first victim of the dynastic conflict between the two imperialist groups.

Although the other Balkan States had proclaimed their neutrality when war broke out between Serbia and Austro-Hungary, they only waited for their opportunity (the command of their patrons) to plunge their peoples into the war, and place their territories at the disposal of the Great Powers.

Bulgaria proclaimed a so-called "armed neutrality." But it was no secret to anyone that this "neutrality" was a benevolent neutrality only as far as the Central Powers were concerned. War material, submarines and military instructors from Germany and Austro-Hungary were sent through Bulgarian territory to Turkey, and it was not very long before Bulgaria openly joined the Central Powers. This happened in the second half of 1915, when Bulgaria attacked the rear of the Serbian army, which had already been fighting against Austro-Hungary for the past twelve months. For the purpose of opposing the victorious march of the Bulgarian army through Serbia and Macedonia, and preventing it from joining the Austro-Hungarian army, the Entente brought Rumania into the fray. The stubborn resistance of Greece to being drawn into the war on the side of the Entente, led to its occupation on the part of the Entente armies and to its transformation into a base for the military actions of the Entente in the Balkan Peninsula.

Thus, the Balkans became one of the most important and most sanguinary fronts in the whole European war.

In addition to the war slogans, issued by both belligerent imperialist groups, slogans intended to deceive their peoples and to induce them to suffer the horrors of war to the bitter end, the Balkan Governments also made use of their old nationalist catchwords to explain and justify their intervention in the war. They said: Bulgaria had to fight for its national unification and for the liberation of Macedonia. Serbia had to bring about the national unification of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and had to make certain of all its annexations during the Balkan wars; Rumania was obliged to fight for its national unification, and Turkey had to shake off the yoke of Entente imperialism.

And although the conclusion of the European war in the Balkans was begun because of the disorganisation of the Bulgarian army, and its compulsory retreat from the Salonica front in September, 1918, the war in this part of the world

ent on a long time after its nominal conclusion, in the form a war between Greece and Turkey, which ended in the defeat of Greece and its final expulsion from those territories Asia Minor which it had occupied.

The Sacrifices and Devastations caused by War in the Balkans.

The Balkan peoples were the victims of terrible devastations during these wars, and made comparatively the greatest sacrifices. Both the victorious and vanquished were quite exhausted at the close of hostilities.

The following data, which are far from complete, will give an approximate idea of the terrible human and material losses caused by the wars in the Balkans.

In the Balkan wars, the Serbian losses amounted to 1,000 killed, 60,000 wounded, 45,000 invalids and one billion dinars of war expenditure. Bulgaria had 55,000 killed, 105,000 wounded, 40,000 invalids and 2,000,000,000 francs war expenditure. Turkey had 150,000 killed, 80,000 massacred, 450,000 died of epidemics, and 1,075,000,000 francs war expenditure. In Greece the total killed in battle and died from disease was 30,000 and 20,000 were invalided. Moreover, the Serbian army killed during the Balkan wars about 100,000 Albanians and burnt down their villages. A large section of Macedonia and Thrace was laid waste by fire.

Apart from the losses and victims which cannot be exactly ascertained, the toll of the two Balkan wars consisted of 415,000 lives lost both in battle and from various other causes, and 4,000,000,000 (in round figures) francs war expenditure.

In this respect, the European war presents a much more terrible picture. Serbia was for a long time the only theatre of military operations, and was under military occupation for three years. The losses inflicted on the country during this period of terrible devastation beggar description. In Serbia, with a population of 4,000,000 the number of those killed and who died from various diseases was 800,000,

whilst 1,000,000 were wounded and 220,000 crippled. Of the 150,000 men and women who were driven into Austria, 70,000 died. Scores of thousands of Serbs were despatched to Bulgaria and most of them died. In that part of Serbia which was occupied by Bulgaria, 20,000 people were killed and 40 villages were burnt down by the occupation authorities. Serbia's war expenditure in the European war amounted to 15 milliard dinars.

In the European war, the **Bulgarian** losses were 150,000 killed, 300,000 wounded, and 160,000 invalids. Its war expenditure amounted to 7,000,000,000 levas.

Rumanian losses were 80,000 killed, many thousands died of epidemics. Her expenditure amounted to 12,000,000,000 lei.

Turkey had 350,000 killed, and 900,000 died of epidemics. Moreover, 710,000 of the peaceful population of Turkey were massacred. Its war expenditure amounted to 1,020,000 French francs, and 220,000,000 Turkish lire.

In the war between Turkey and Greece, the former had 180,000 killed and 150,000 died of epidemics, and the latter's losses included 60,000 killed and 40,000 who died from disease and almost 1,000,000 made homeless refugees.

On the whole, in the Balkan States during the European wars (killed, died of disease and massacres), there were roughly 3,500,000 human victims. The war expenditure amounted to 50 milliards French francs.

After the European war **Yugo-Slavia** (the former Serbia) was saddled with a national debt of 40 milliard dinars—1,700 dinars per inhabitant. **Rumania** has a debt of 25,000,000,000 gold lei, while the national debt of **Bulgaria** amounts to over 100 milliard levas—22,273 levas per inhabitant.

4. The Situation in the Balkans after the European War.

It is unnecessary to point out that the European war did not result in the national emancipation and unification of the Balkan peoples in any greater degree than the former Balkan wars had done. On the contrary national separatism and national slavery increased. **Yugo-Slavia** is a typical

xample of national separatism and national mixtures in the Balkans. The total population of this Balkan State amounts to 12,055,638. Its national composition is as follows : Serbs, 5,023,588 (18.5 per cent.); Yugo-Slavs, Moslems, 759,656 (5.3 per cent.); Macedonians, Bulgarians, 630,000 (5.3 per cent.); Germans, 512,207 (4.3 per cent.); Hungarians, 72,079 (3.9 per cent.); Albanians, 483,871 (4 per cent.); Rumanians, 183,871 (1.6 per cent.); Turks, 143,453 (1.2 per cent.); Italians, 11,630 (0.1 per cent.); other Slavs, 198,857 (1.6 per cent.); and Jews, Gipsies and others, 42,756 (0.3 per cent.). The Serbian bourgeoisie, which represents a nation forming only one-third of the total population of Yugo-Slavia, exercises a hegemony over the remaining two-thirds of the population, and carries on a violent policy for their denationalisation. The already complicated problem in the Balkans has now become more complicated than in any other part of the world. The new changes introduced into the map of the Balkan Peninsula by the various peace treaties, have created artificial States, such as Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania, and have impossible frontiers for the Balkan States. Within the framework of these States, there is a population of many millions (Macedonians, Croats, Slovenes, Dobrudjians, Bessarabians, Transylvanians, etc., etc.), fighting for national independence. Macedonia has been divided up amongst three states—Yugo-Slavia, Greece and Bulgaria; Thrace—between Greece and Turkey. The Dobrudja has remained under the domination of Rumanian landowners. The territories separated from the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy—Croatia, Slovenia, Voyevodina (a small part of Croatia), Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina—are under the hegemony of the Serbian Dynasty and bourgeoisie. The former Austro-Hungarian territories—Transylvania and Bukovina—came under the sway of Rumanian landowners and capitalists, who also seized Bessarabia. Albania is the subject of the annexationist aspirations of both Yugo-Slavia and Greece.

The old rivalry between German and Entente imperialism in the Balkans has been put an end to by the crushing defeat inflicted on the Central Powers during the European war. But instead of it, the Balkans have been converted, for all intents and purposes, into a colony of Entente imperialism and into a bulwark of imperialist counter-revolution in which French capitalism plays the first fiddle.

More than ever before, the Balkans have become a volcano which can become at any moment the source of

terrible bloodshed, and the signal for the next imperialist war, into which imperialism is driving mankind.

5. War against War.

Notwithstanding nationalist enthusiasm, which seized upon a considerable section of workers at the outbreak of the Balkan war, the Social-Democratic Party in the Balkans (now the Communist Party), and especially in Bulgaria and Serbia, opposed together with the Balkan Socialist (now Communist Federation, this "war of liberation" in a most energetic matter. In their Press and by means of special manifestoes, as well as from platforms both inside and outside Parliament, they explained to the masses the true nature of the predatory "Balkan Union," which is a product of the annexationist policy of the bourgeois classes and of monarchism in Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, as well as European imperialism. They warned the people that the Balkan war cannot and will not give national emancipation and unity to the Balkan peoples, because it was a war of conquest carried on by the Bulgarian-Serbian and Greek Alliance. Greece did not declare war on Turkey, with a view to liberating Macedonia and the other territories under a nationalist yoke, but for the purpose of conquering and dividing them among themselves with the result that after the victory over Turkey, they would quarrel amongst each other in the scramble for the booty. In opposition to the "Balkan Union" created by the ruling sections of society for the purpose of carrying on an annexationist war, they issued the slogan of peace between the Balkan peoples and the formation of a Federated Balkan Republic, within which the oppressed and ruined Balkan peoples would be able to achieve their national emancipation and unity, and with the aid of which they could resist the annexationist offensive of the great European imperialist powers whose object was to make the Balkan Peninsula a colony of their own. Although they were unable to prevent the war, they voted against war credits and insisted on its early conclusion, while the "broad Socialists" (Menshevik) of Bulgaria and their colleagues in Greece placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the bourgeoisie and its policy.

Because of their determined opposition to the war, the revolutionary Social Democratic Parties in Serbia were declared to be traitors to their countries and were subjected to relentless persecution. The entire Central Committee of the

ulgarian Party was tried for publishing the anti-war manifesto.

But the trend of events during the war and their results showed that the attitude they had adopted had been correct, and had disillusioned the masses who had been carried away by national enthusiasm. At the close of the Balkan wars, these masses began to rally very rapidly to their banner.

When the European war was declared and begun by the Austro-Hungarian attack on Serbia, the Serbian Party, represented by two of its members in parliament, had the courage to make a protest against the war, and to refuse to vote war credits, in spite of the united forces of the bourgeoisie. In contradistinction to the bourgeoisie, which declared that this war was a **defensive** war and directed against the attack by Austro-Hungary, the Serbian Party exposed the fact that Serbia was drawn into the imperialist war as a vassal of the Entente, and that the blood of the Serbian people was being shed in both the interests of the reigning bourgeois clique and of monarchism, and for the aims of the Entente imperialists. During the trying three years' period of military devastation to which Serbia was subjected, the Serbian Social-Democratic Party did not swerve for a moment from the right path and remained true to itself, to revolutionary Socialism and to the supreme vital interests of the workers and of the peasantry.

Contrary to the "broad Socialists," who, together with the pro-Entente opposition parties, were favouring Bulgaria's intervention in the war on the side of the Entente, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (the Narrow Socialists) carried on for a whole twelve months a most energetic fight both in and outside parliament against the participation of the Bulgarian people in the imperialist war, whether it be on the side of the Entente or on the side of the Central Powers. It never ceased to expose and to explain to the masses that both the "armed neutrality" of the Radoslavov Government and the Czar Ferdinand, was a blind tool of German imperialism; his "armed neutrality" was merely a cloak for the efforts which were made to draw Bulgaria into the war on the side of Germany and Austro-Hungary. The Party was equally energetic in denouncing the pro-Entente opposition bloc, which did its utmost to throw Bulgaria into the arms of the Entente. By exposing the imperialist character of the European war at demonstrations and meetings

organised by it, as well as in the Press, the Bulgarian Party brought into being a big anti-war feeling throughout the country, and when in 1915 the Radoslavov Government declared for the mobilisation, the workers and peasants were not only without any illusions about the true character of the European war, but devoid of enthusiasm such as had prevailed at the outbreak of the Balkan war: in some districts open resistance was made to mobilisation and participation in the war.

In spite of the fierce persecution of the Party, it fought together with the trade unions against the war from its beginning to its conclusion. In parliament it voted against war credits, in the country it carried on an active campaign for the speedy termination of the war, while on the various fronts it formed its own nuclei for propaganda in the army against war, and for the organisation of armed resistance to its continuance. For this purpose the Party published a number of illegal pamphlets and leaflets, and circulated them in the army just at the time when the "broad Socialists" leaders, together with the representatives of other bourgeois parties, toured the fronts agitating among the soldiers for the continuation of the war to the bitter end. After the Russian October Revolution, which ended in victory for the proletariat and peasantry, the Party carried on its anti-war campaign with still greater energy. As a result of this prolonged and energetic campaign, a rebellion broke out in the Bulgarian army in September, 1918. This rebellion played a large role in the termination of the imperialist war.

In its determined fight against the imperialist war, the Communist Party and the Labour movement in Bulgaria made many great sacrifices. The prisons were filled to overflowing with active members and supporters of the Party. Two of the members of the Central Committee of the Party were condemned—one to three, and the other to five years' solitary confinement for anti-war propaganda. Thousands of sympathisers of the Party in the army were subjected to cruel persecution and ill-treatment, and scores of them were shot.

In Rumania, Greece and Turkey, revolutionary Socialists and workers also made great sacrifices and fought (although less energetically) against the war.

We are justified in saying that contrary to Germany, France, Great Britain and other countries where the reformist leaders succeeded in drawing the Labour movement into the imperialist war, the Labour movement in the Balkans was from beginning to end a determined opponent to it.

And now, ten years after the outbreak of the imperialist war, when imperialism is driving the world into new and more terrible wars, the revolutionary workers and peasants of the Balkans, who are under the leadership of Communist Parties, and who have profited by the sanguinary lessons of the two last Balkan wars, and especially by the lessons of the European war, understand full well that the only means for the prevention of a new imperialist war, is the class war of the workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, for the overthrow of the bourgeois regime and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship in the Balkans as well as on an international scale.

DIMITROV.



Pacifism as the Servant of Imperialism

HERE never were so many pacifists in the world as now, when in all countries men are killing one another. Every historical epoch has not only its own technique and its own political form, but also a hypocrisy peculiar to itself. Once peoples destroyed each other in the name of the Christian teaching of love of humanity.

Now only backward governments call upon Christ. Progressive nations cut each others' throats in the name of pacifism. Wilson drags America into the war in the name of the League of Nations, and perpetual peace. Kerensky and Tseretelli call for an offensive for the sake of an early peace.

Our epoch lacks the indignant satire of a Juvenal. In any case, even the most potential satirical weapons are in danger of being proved powerless and illusory in comparison with triumphant infamy and grovelling stupidity; which two elements were unfettered by the war.

Pacifism is of the same historical lineage as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a great historical attempt to order all human relations in accordance with reason, to supplant blind and dumb tradition by the institutions of critical thought. The guilds with their restriction of production, political institutions with their privileges, monarchistic absolutism—all these were traditional relics of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality for free competition, and for parliamentarism as the means of governing public affairs. It sought also to regulate national relations in the same manner. But here it came up against war, that is against a method of solving all problems which is a complete denial of "reason." So it began to advise the people in poetry, in philosophy, in ethics, and in business methods, that it is far more useful for them to introduce perpetual peace. These are the logical arguments for pacifism.

The inherited failing of pacifism, however, was the fundamental evil which characterises bourgeois democracy. Its criticism touches only the surfaces of social phenomena, it has not the courage to cut deeper into the underlying economic facts. Capitalist realism, however, handles the idea of perpetual peace based on the harmony of reason, perhaps more pitilessly than the idea of liberty, equality and fraternity. Capitalism, which developed technique on a rational basis, failed to regulate conditions rationally. It prepared weapons for mutual extermination which would never have occurred to the dreams of the "barbarians" of mediæval times.

The rapid intensification of international conditions, and the unremitting growth of militarism, knocked away the ground from under the feet of pacifism. But at the same time, these same forces were giving pacifism a new life before our very eyes, a life as different from the old one as a blood-red sunset is from a rosy dawn.

The ten years which preceded the war were the period of what has been called "armed peace." The whole time was in reality nothing but an uninterrupted war, a war waged in colonial lands.

This war was fought out upon the territories of backward and weak peoples; it led to the participation of Africa, Polynesia and Asia, and prepared the way for the present war. But, as there had been no European war since 1871, although there had been quite a number of small but sharp conflicts, common opinion among the petty-bourgeoisie had been systematically encouraged to look upon an ever-growing army as a guarantee of peace, which would gradually bear its fruits in a new organisation of popular international law. As for the capitalistic governments and big business, they naturally saw nothing to object to in this "pacifist" interpretation of militarism. Meanwhile world conflicts were in preparation and the world catastrophe was there.

Theoretically and politically, pacifism has just the same basis as the doctrine of social harmony between different class interests.

The opposition between capitalistic national states has

just the same economic basis as the class struggle. If we are ready to assume the possibility of a gradual toning down of the class struggle, then we must also assume the gradual toning down and regulation of nationalistic conflicts.

The guardian of democratic ideology, with all its traditions and illusions, was the petty bourgeoisie. During the second half of the nineteenth century, it had become completely transformed inwardly, but it had not yet disappeared from the scene. At the very time when the development of capitalistic technique was permanently undermining the economic role of the petty bourgeoisie, universal franchise and compulsory military service were giving it, thanks to its numerical strength, the appearance of a political factor. Where the small capitalist had not been crushed out of existence altogether by big business, he was completely subjugated by the credit system. It only remained to the representatives of the big business to subjugate the petty bourgeoisie also in the political field, by taking all its theories and prejudices and lending them a fictitious value. This is the explanation of the phenomena which were to be observed in the last ten years before the war, when reactionary imperialism was growing to such a terrific height, while at the same time the illusive blossoming of a bourgeois democracy, with all its reformism and pacifism took place. Big business subjugated the petty bourgeoisie to its imperialistic ends by means of its own prejudices.

France was the classic example of this two-sided process. France is a country of finance-capital supported upon the basis of a numerous and generally conservative petty bourgeoisie. Thanks to foreign loans, to the colonies, and to the alliance with Russia and England, the upper strata of the population were dragged into all the interests and all the conflicts of world capitalism. Meanwhile, the French petty bourgeois remained a provincial to his very marrow. He has an instinctive dread of geography, and all his life long he has had the greatest horror of war, mainly because he usually has only one son, to whom he will leave his business and his furniture. This petty bourgeois sends a bourgeois radical to represent him in parliament, for that gentleman promises him that he will preserve peace for him by means of the League of Nations on the one hand and of Russian

Cossacks, who will chop off the Kaiser's head for him, on the other. The radical deputy arrives in Paris from his circle of provincial lawyers, not only full of the will to peace, but also with only the vaguest of notions as to the position of the Persian Gulf, and without any clear idea of why or for whom the Bagdad Railway is necessary. These "radical pacifist" deputies provided from their midst a Radical Ministry, which immediately found itself entangled up to the ears in the meshes of all the previous diplomatic and military obligations undertaken by all the various financial interests of the French Bourse in Russia, Africa and Asia. The Ministry and Parliament never ceased intoning their pacifist phraseology, but at the same time they were automatically carrying out a foreign policy which finally brought France into the war.

English and American pacifism, despite all the variety of social conditions and ideology (despite also the lack of any ideology as in America) carry out essentially the same work : they provide an outlet for the petty bourgeoisie citizens' fear of world-shaking events, which after all can only deprive him of the remnants of his independence; they lull to sleep his watchfulness by useless notions of disarmament, international law, and arbitration tribunals. Then, at a given moment, they hand him over body and soul to capitalistic imperialism which has already mobilised every means necessary for its end : i.e., technical knowledge, art, religion, bourgeois pacifism and patriotic "Socialism."

"We were against the war, our deputies, our Ministers, were all against the war," cry the French petty bourgeois : Therefore, it follows, that we have the war forced upon us, and in order to realise our pacific ideals we must pursue the war to a victorious end." And the representative of French pacifism, Baron d'Estournel de Constant, consecrates his pacifist philosophy with a solemn "*jusqu'au bout!*"—war to the end !

The thing which above all others the English Stock Exchange required for the successful conduct of the war, was pacifists like the liberal Asquith, and the radical demagogue Lloyd George. "If these men are running the war," said the English people, "then we must have right on our side."

And so pacifism had its allotted part to play in the mechanism of the war, like poison gas, and the ever-rising pile of war loans.

In the U.S.A. the pacifism of the petty-bourgeoisie showed itself in its true role, as the servant of imperialism, in an even less disguised manner. There, as elsewhere, it was the banks and the trusts which really managed politics. Even before the war, owing to the extraordinary development of industry, and of the export trade, the U.S.A. had been steadily moving in the direction of world interests and of imperialism. But the European war drove on this imperialistic development at a feverish pace. At the very moment when many pious people (even Kautsky) were hoping that the horrors of the butchery in Europe would fill the American bourgeoisie with horror of militarism, the real influence of the events in Europe was proceedings, not on psychological, but on materialistic lines, and was leading to the very opposite results. The exports of the U.S.A., which in 1913 had totalled 2,466 millions of dollars, rose in 1916 to the crazy height of 5,481 milliards of dollars. Naturally the lion's share of this export trade was allotted to the munitions industry. Then came the sudden threat of a cessation in the export trade to the Entente countries, when unrestricted submarine warfare began. In 1915 the Entente had imported American goods up to thirty-five milliards, while Germany and Austria-Hungary had barely imported as much as fifteen millions. Thus, not only a diminution of the gigantic profits was indicated, but the whole of American industry, which had its basis in war industry, was now threatened with a severe crisis. It is to these figures that we must look for the key to the division of "sympathies" in America. And so the capitalists appealed to the State: "It is you who started this development of war-industry under the banner of pacifism, it is now up to you to find us a new market." If the State was not in a position to promise the "freedom of the seas" (in other words, freedom to squeeze capital out of human blood) then it must open a new market for the threatened war industries—in America itself. And so the requirements of the European slaughter produced a sudden, a catastrophic militarisation of the U.S.A.

This business was bound to arouse the opposition of the great masses of the people. To conquer this undefined dis-

content, and transform it into patriotic co-operation was the most important task in the domestic politics of the U.S.A. And it was by a strange irony of fate that the official pacifism of Wilson, like the 'opposition' pacifism of Bryan, provided the most powerful weapons for the performance of this task, *i.e.*, the taming of the masses by militaristic methods.

Bryan hastened to give loud expression to the natural dislike of the farmers, and of all the petty-bourgeoisie to imperialism, militarism and increase in taxation. But at the very time when he was sending off wagon-loads of petitions and deputations to his pacifist colleagues, who occupied the highest places in the government, Bryan was also using every effort to break away from the revolutionary lead of this movement.

"If it comes to war," thus for instance Bryan telegraphed to an anti-war meeting held in Chicago in February, "then, of course, we shall support the government, but up to that moment it is our most sacred duty to do everything that lies in our power to save the people from the horrors of war." In these few words we have the whole programme of petty-bourgeois pacifism. "Everything that is in our power to prevent war," means to provide an outlet for the opposition of the masses in the shape of harmless manifestoes, in which the government is given a guarantee that if war comes, no hindrance will be put in its way by the pacifist opposition.

That indeed, was all that was required by the Official pacifism personified by Wilson, who had already given plenty of proofs to the capitalists who were making the war, of his "readiness to fight." And even Mr. Bryan himself found it enough to have made this declaration, after which he was content to put aside his noisy opposition to the war; simply for one purpose—that of declaring war. Like Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bryan hastened to go over to the side of the government. And not only the petty-bourgeoisie, but also the great mass of the people, said to themselves: "If our government, headed by a pacifist of such world-wide reputation as Wilson, can declare war, and Bryan himself can support the government on the question of war, then surely this must be a righteous and necessary war." This explains why the pious, Quakerish kind of pacifism, indulged in by the demagogues

who led the government, was so highly valued by the Stock Exchange and the leaders of war industry.

Our own Menshevik, social-revolutionary pacifism, despite the difference in outward conditions, played in its own way exactly the same part. The resolution on war, which was adopted by a majority of the All-Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, is founded not only on the common pacifist prejudices concerning war, but also on the characteristics of an imperialistic war. The Congress declared that the "first and most important task of revolutionary democracy" was the speedy ending of war. But all these assumptions are only directed towards a single end: so long as the international efforts of democracy have failed to make an end of war, so long **must Russian revolutionary democracy demand with all its strength that the Red Army shall be prepared to fight whether defensive or offensive.**

The revision of the old international treaties makes the Russian Congress dependent upon voluntary understandings with the diplomacy of the Entente, and it is not in the nature of these diplomats to liquidate the imperialistic character of war, even if they could. The "international efforts of democracy" leaves the congress and its leaders dependent upon the will of Social-Democratic patriots, who are tied and bound to their imperialistic governments. And this same majority of the congress, having first of all led itself into a blind alley with this business of the "quickest possible ending to war," has now landed itself, where practical politics are concerned, in a definite conclusion: the offensive. A "pacifism" which rallies the petty-bourgeoisie and brings us to the support of the offensive will naturally be most warmly welcomed, not only by Russians but also by Entente imperialism.

Miljukov, for instance, says: "In the name of our loyalty to the allies and to our old (imperialistic) treaties, the offensive must inevitably be entered upon."

Kerensky and Tseretelli say: "Although our old treaties have not yet been revised, the offensive is inevitable."

The arguments vary, but the policy is the same. And

could not be otherwise, since Kerensky and Tseretelli are extricably bound up in the government with Miliukov's party.

The Social-Democratic, patriotic pacifism of Dan, like the Quaker pacifism of Bryan, are, when we come to actual facts, equally in the service of the imperialists.

It is for this reason that the most important task of Russian diplomacy does not consist in persuading the Entente diplomacy to revise something or other, or to abrogate something else, but in convincing them that the Russian revolution is absolutely reliable, and can safely be trusted.

The Russian ambassador, Bachmatiev, in his speech to the Congress of the U.S.A. on June 10th, also characterised the activity of the Provisional Government from this point of view :

"All these events," he said, "show us that the power and significance of the Provisional Government are growing every day, and the more they grow the more capable will the government be of throwing out all disintegrating elements, whether these come from the reaction or from the agitation of the extreme left. The Provisional Government has just decided to take all possible means to achieve this end, even if it has to resort to force, although it does not cease to strive for a peaceful solution of its problems."

One need not doubt for a moment that the "national honour" of our Social-Democratic patriots remained undimmed while the ambassador of the "revolutionary democracy" eagerly proved to the American plutocracy that the Russian government was ready to pour out the blood of the Russian proletariat in the name of law and order. The most important element of law and order being its loyal support of Entente capitalism.

And at the very moment when Herr Bachmatief was holding hat in hand, humbly addressing himself to the geniuses of the American Stock Exchange, Messieurs Tsere-

telli and Kerensky were setting the "revolutionary democracy" by the ears, in assuring them that it was impossible to combat the "anarchy of the left" without using force, and were threatening to disarm the workers of Petrograd and the regiment which supported them. We can see now that these threats were delivered at just the right moment: they were the best possible guarantees for the Russian loan from America.

"You see, now," Herr Bachmatiev might have said to Mr. Wilson, "our revolutionary pacifism does not differ by a hair's breadth from the pacifism of your Stock Exchange. And if they can believe Mr. Bryan, why should they not believe Herr Tseretelli?"

L. TROTSKY.



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